LEYCESTERS Common-wealth:

CONCEIVED, SPOKEN AND PVBLISHED WITH MOST EARnest protestation of all Dutifull good will and affection towards this Realm, for whose good onely, it is made common to many.

Robert Parsons

Job the 20. verse the 27.

The Heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and Earth shall rise up against him.

Printed 1641.

THE EPISTLE DIRECTORY;

TO M. G. M. IN GRATIOUS Street in *London.*

Deare and loving friend, I received about tenne dayes agone your letter of the 9. of this present: wherein you demand and solicite againe the thing, that I so flatly denied you, at my late being in your chamber: I meane, to put in writing the relation which then I made unto you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my presence, betweene my right worshipfull good friend and patron, and his guest the ould Lawyer, of some matters in our state and country. And for that you presse mee very seriously at this instant, both by request and many reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not onely this,

but alſo to give my conſent for the publiſhing of the ſame, by ſuch ſecret meanes as you aſſure mee you can there find out: I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themſelves, whom principally it concerneth who at the receipt of your letter were not farre from mee:) And albeit at the firſt, I found them averſe and nothing inclined to grant your demand: yet after upon conſideration of your reaſons, and aſſurance of ſecreſie: (eſpecially for that there is nothing in the ſame contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty toward our moſt gratious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the ſpeciall good of them both, and for the forewarning of ſome dangers imminent to the ſame) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviſo, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld conſent to the publiſhing hereof, for feare of ſome future flouriſh of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names ſhould breake forth: which (I truſt) you will provide, ſhall never happen, both for their ſecurity, and for your owne. And with this I will end, aſſuring you that within theſe five or ſix dayes, you ſhall receive the whole in writing by an other way and ſecret meanes, neither ſhall the bearer ſuſpect what hee carrieth: whereof alſo I thought good to premoniſh you. And this ſhall ſuffice for this time.

THE

THE PREFACE OF THE CONFERENCE.

NOt long before the last Christmasse, I was requested by a letter from a very worshipfull and graue Gentleman, whose sonne was then my pupill in *Cambridge*, to repaire with my said Scholar to a certaine house of his neare *London*, and there to passe over the Holy-dayes in his company: for that it was determined that in *Hillary* tearme following, his said sonne should bee placed in some Inne of Chancery, to follow the study of the Common-law, and so to leave the Vniversity. This request was gratefull unto mee in respect of the time, as also of the matter, but especially of the company. For that, as I love much the yong Gentleman, my pupile, for his towardlines in religion, learning, and vertue: so much more I doe reverence his

Scholler.

The occasion of this conference and meeting.

Father, for the riper poſſeſſion of the ſame ornaments, and for his great wiſedome, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the World that doe occurre: but namely touching our owne Countrey, wherein truly I doe not remember to have heard any man in my life, diſcourſe more ſubſtantially, indifferently, and with leſſe paſſion, more love and fidelity, then I have heard him: Which was the cauſe that I tooke ſingular delight to be in his company, and refuſed no occaſion to enjoy the ſame. Which alſo hee perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with mee, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

The perſons and place of this conference.

When I came to the foreſaid Houſe by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that profeſſed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Chriſtmaſſe in that place, with whom at divers former times I had beene well acquainted, for that hee haunted much the company of the ſaid Gentleman my friend, and was much truſted and uſed by him in matters of his profeſſion, and not a little beloved alſo for his good converſation, notwithſtanding ſome difference in religion betweene us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to bee a Papiſt, yet was it with ſuch moderation and reſervation of his duty towards his Prince and

Coun-

Countrey and proceedings of the ſame: as hee ſeemed alwayes to give full ſatisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

Neither did hee let to proteſt often times with great affection, that as hee had many friends and kinsfolke of contrary religion to himſelfe: ſo did hee love them never the leſſe for their different conſcience, but leaving that to God, was deſirous to doe them any friendſhip or ſervice that hee could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was hee wilfull or obſtinate in his opinion, and much leſſe reprochfull in ſpeech (as many of them bee) but was content to heare whatſoever wee ſhould ſay to the contrary (as often wee did:) and to read any booke alſo that wee delivered him, for his inſtruction. A temperate Papiſt.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and mee, to affect the more his company, and to diſcourſe as freely with him in all occurrents, as if hee had beene of our owne religion.

THE

THE ENTRANCE TO THE MATTER.

ONe day then of the Christmasse, wee three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often we were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards and other pastimes:) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason:* Which booke, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke. The Booke of justice.

Lawyer. The Lawyer answered: That it was not evill penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state: but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in

generall and particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth hee) is somewhat hard (I weene) for you or mee (in respect of some other difference betweene us) to judge or discerne with indifferency.

Gentleman. Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion so ever. And for my selfe, I may protest, that I beare the honest Papist (if there bee any) no malice for his deceived conscience, whereof among others, your selfe can bee a witnesse: mary his Practizes against the state, I cannot in any wise digest: and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same (whereof wee all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most heinous, and least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home; and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to bee guilty: how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe.

The Papists practizes against the state.

Lawyer. Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but with hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Onely this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may bee said to deale against the same state in two sorts: the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is always either directly, or indirectly against the state. (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the *Roman* Religion doth against the present state of *England* in the point of Supremacy:) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and

Two sorts of dealing against the state.

Directly.

Indirectly.

draw-

draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chiefe Governour and state to bee of his religion, if hee could: and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that: and in this kind, not onely those whom you call busie Papists in *England*, but also those whom wee call hote Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of governement is very well knowne,) may bee called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every one of these in deed, doe labour indirectly, (if not mote) against the state, in how much soever each one endevoureth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his owne religion.

And in this case also, are the Protestants in *France* and *Flanders* under Catholique Princes: the Calvinists (as they are called;) under the Duke of *Saxony*, who is a Lutheran: the Lutherans under *Casimere*, that favoreth Calvinists: the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperour of *Constantinople*, under the *Sophy*, under the great Chame of *Tartary*, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, in stead of that which now governeth them: and consequently in this first sense, they may bee called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing betweene the state and them) tendeth to treason: which their Princes supposing, doe sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treaty against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: wee doe not properly condemne them for

The state of all Subjects, in a state of different religion.

The second kind of treason.

traytors, though they doe ſome acts of their religion made treaſon by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The application of the former example.

And ſo to apply this to my purpoſe: I thinke, Sir, in good ſooth, that in the firſt kind of treaſon, as well the zealous Papiſt, as alſo the Puritans in *England*, may well bee called and proved traytors: but in the ſecond ſort (whereof wee ſpeake properly at this time) it cannot bee ſo precisely anſwered, for that there may bee both guilty and guiltles in each religion. And as I cannot excuſe all Puritans in this point: ſo you cannot condemne all Papiſts, as long as you take mee and ſome other to bee as wee are.

Gentleman.

I grant your diſtinction of treaſons to bee true, (ſaid the Gentleman,) as alſo your application thereof to the Papiſts and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reaſon, if there bee any of them that miſlike the preſent ſtate) as perhaps there bee:) all bee it for my part, I thinke theſe two kinds of treaſons, which you have put downe, bee rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our *Cambridge* friend here preſent, whoſe skill is more in logicall diſtinctions. But yet my reaſon is this, that indeed the one is but a ſtep or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or oportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have ſhewed) the Grecians under the Turke and other Chriſtians under other Princes of a different religion, and as alſo the Papiſts and Puritans (as you terme them) in *England* (for now this word ſhall paſſe betweene us for diſtinction ſake,) have ſuch alienation of mind from their preſent regiment, and doe covet ſo much a governour and ſtate of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are alſo

Two degrees of treaſon.

reſol-

reſolved to imploy their forces for accompliſhing and bringing to paſſe their deſires, if they had oportunity: and ſo being now in the firſt degree or kind of treaſon, doe want but occaſion or ability, to breake into the ſecond.

Lawyer. True Sir, ſaid the Lawyer, if there bee no other cauſe or circumſtance that may with hold them.

Gentleman. And what cauſe or circumſtance may ſtay them I pray you (ſaid the Gentleman) when they ſhall have ability and oportunity to doe a thing which they ſo much deſire?

Lawyer. Divers cauſes (quoth the Lawyer) but eſpecially and above all other (if it bee at home in their owne Country) the feare of ſervitude under forraine nations, may reſtraine them from ſuch attempts: As wee ſee in *Germany* that both Catholiques and Proteſtants would joyne together, againſt any ſtranger that ſhould offer danger to their liberty. And ſo they did againſt *Charles* the fifth. And in *France* not long agoe, albeit the Proteſtants were up in armes againſt their King, and could have beene content, by the helpe of us in *England*, to have put him downe, and placed an other of their owne religion: yet when they ſaw us once ſeazed of New-haven, and ſo like to proceed to the recovery of ſome part of our ſtates on that ſide the Sea: *France.* they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us.

Flanders. In *Flanders* likewiſe, though Monſieur were called thither by the Proteſtans, eſpecially for defence of their religion, againſt the *Spaniard*: yet wee ſee how dainty divers chiefe Proteſtants of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt*, and *Bruges* were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, ſo ſoone as hee put them in the leaſt feare of ſubjection to the *French*.

Portugall. And as for *Portugall*, I have heard ſome of the

chiefeſt Catholiques among them ſay, in this late contention about their Kingdome: that rather then they would ſuffer the *Caſtillan* to come in upon them, they would bee content to admit whatſoever aids of a contrary religion to themſelves, and to adventure whatſoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that meanes, rather then endanger their ſubjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latins.

The like is reported in divers hiſtories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate ſo much the name and dominion of the Latines: as they had rather to endure all the miſeries which dayly they ſuffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwiſe: then by calling for aid from the Weſt to hazard their ſubjection to the ſaid Latines. So that by theſe examples you ſee, that feare and horrour of externall ſubjection may ſtay men in all ſtates, and conſequently alſo both Papiſts and Puritans in the ſtate of *England*, from paſſing to the ſecond kind or degree of treaſon, albeit they were never ſo deepe in the firſt, and had both ability, time, will, and oportunity for the other.

Scholar. Here I preſumed to interrupt their Speech, and ſaid: that this ſeemed to mee moſt cleare, and that now I underſtood what the Lawyer meant before, when hee affirmed, that albeit the moſt part of Papiſts in generall might bee ſaid to deal againſt the ſtate of *England* at this day, in that they deale ſo earneſtly for the maintenance and increaſe of their religion, and ſo to incurre ſome kind of treaſon: yet (perhaps) not ſo far-forth nor in ſo deepe a degree, of proper treaſon as in this booke is preſumed or inforced: though for my part (ſaid I) I doe not ſee that the booke preſumeth or inforceth all Papiſts in generall to bee properly

Not all Papiſts properly traytors.

perly traytors, but onely ſuch as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed: and what will you ſay (quoth I) to thoſe in particular.

Lawyer. Surely (quoth hee) I muſt ſay of theſe, much after the manner which I ſpake before: that ſome here named in this booke are openly knowen to have beene in the ſecond degreee of kind of treaſon: as *Weſtmerland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Prieſts and Seminaries that of late have ſuffered,) by ſo much as I could ſee delivered and pleaded at their arraignements, or heard proteſted by them at their deaths, or gathered by reaſon and diſcourſe of my ſelfe, (for that no forraine Prince or wiſe councellor would ever commit ſo great matters of ſtate to ſuch inſtruments:) I cannot (I ſay) but thinke, that to the wiſe of our ſtate, that had the doing of this buſines, the firſt degree of treaſon (wherein no doubt they were) was ſufficient to diſpatch and make them away: eſpecially in ſuch ſuſpitious times as theſe are: to the end that being hanged for the firſt, they ſhould never bee in danger to fall into the ſecond, nor yet to draw other men to the ſame: which perhaps was moſt of all miſdoubted.

The Prieſts and Seminaries that were executed.

Gentleman. After the Lawyer had ſpoken this, I held my peace, to heare what the Gentleman would anſwer: who walked up and downe, two whole turnes in the Gallery, without yeelding any word againe: and then ſtaying upon the ſudden, caſt his eyes ſadly upon us both, and ſaid;

My Maſters, how ſo ever this bee, which indeed appertaineth not to us to judge or diſcuſſe, but rather to perſwade our ſelves, that the ſtate hath reaſon to doe as it doth, and that it muſt often times, as well pre-

vent

vent inconveniences, as remedy the ſame when they are happened: yet for my owne part I muſt confeſſe unto you, that upon ſome conſiderations which uſe to come unto my mind, I take no ſmall griefe of theſe differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which wee are driven of neceſſity, to uſe Diſcipline towards divers, who poſſibly otherwiſe would bee no great malefactours. I know the cauſe of this difference is grounded upon a principle not eaſie to cure, which is the judgement and conſcience of a man, whereunto obeieth at length his will and affection, whatſoever for a time hee may otherwiſe diſſemble outwardly. I remember your ſpeech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of ſuch as live diſcontented in a ſtate of a different religion, eſpecially, when either indeed, or in their owne conceipt, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular puniſhment, is taken to reach to the cauſe of the whole.

The conſiderations.

I am not ignorant how that miſery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity, moveth affection of mercy and compaſſion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alwayes is ſubject to envy, and hee that ſuffereth, is thought to have the better cauſe, my experience of the divers raignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, Queene *Mary*, and of this our moſt gratious ſoveraigne hath taught mee not a little, touching the ſequell of theſe affaires. And finally, (my good friends) I muſt tell you plaine (quoth hee: and this hee ſpake with great aſſeveration) that I could wiſh with all my heart, that either theſe differences were not among us at all, or els that they were ſo temperatly on all parts purſued: as the Common-ſtate of our Countrey, the bleſſed raigne of her Majeſty, and the common cauſe of true religion, were not endangered thereby.

Miſery moveth mercy.

A good wiſh.

thereby. But now and there hee brake of, and turned aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, hee stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne said merrily: Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Blacke-moores humour, that dwell in *Guinea*. (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in *England* we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in *Germany*, notwithstanding their differences of Religion, and that the one should not pray upon the other: then should the great Fawcons for the Field (I meane the favorites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Lawyer.

The nature and practize of the *Guineans*.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you rove nearer the marke then you weene: for if I bee not deceived the very ground of much of these broiles whereof wee talke, is but a very pray: not, in the minds of the Prince or state (whose intentions no doubt bee most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile conceipt of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and state: and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fatting of himselfe and ruine of the Realme. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreames, whereof are the Papist and the

Gentleman.

The Tyrant of English state.

Three differences of religion in *England*.

Puritan, and the religious Proteſtant obtaining the meane: this fellow being of neither, maketh his gaine of all: and as hee ſeeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and ſpoile by the other: ſo hee uſeth the authority of the third, to compaſſe the firſt two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

Scholar. To this I anſwered: In good ſooth Sir, I ſee now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the univerſity: for I know that you meane my L. of *Leiceſter*, who is the ſubject of all pleaſant diſcourſes at this day throughout the Realme.

The Earle of *Leycester.*

Gentleman. Not ſo pleaſant as pittifull, anſwered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumſtances were well conſidered, except any man take pleaſure to jeaſt at our owne miſeries, which are like to bee greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickedneſſe of *England* beſides: hee being the man that by all probability, is like to bee the bane and fatall deſtiny of our ſtate, with the everſion of true religion, whereof by indirect meanes, hee is the greateſt enemy that the Land doth nouriſh.

Lawyer. Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you ſay thus much for the Proteſtants opinion of him, what ſhall I ſay for his merits towards the Papiſts? who for as much as I can perceive, doe take themſelves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine hee was ſome yeares their ſecret friend againſt you: untill by his friends hee was perſwaded, and chiefly by the L. *North* by way of policy, as the ſaid L. boſteth in hope, of greater gaine, to ſtep over to the Puritans, againſt us both, whom notwithſtanding it is probable, that hee loveth as much, as hee doth the reſt.

The L. *Northes* policy.

You

You know the Beares love, ſaid the Gentleman, which is all for his owne paunch, and ſo this Beare-whelp, turneth all to his owne commodity, and for greedines thereof, will overturne all if he bee not ſtopped or mouzeled in time. *Gentleman.*

And ſurely unto mee it is a ſtrange ſpeculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reaſon (but onely that I doe attribute it to Gods puniſhment for our ſinnes) that in ſo wiſe and vigilant a ſtate as ours is, and in a Countrey ſo well acquainted and beaten with ſuch dangers: a man of ſuch a Spirit as hee is knowne to bee, of ſo extreame ambition, pride, falſhood and trechery: ſo borne, ſo bred up, ſo nooſeled in treaſon from his infancy, deſcended of a tribe of traytors, and fleſhed in conſpiracy againſt the Royall bloud of King *Henries* children in his tender yeares, and exerciſed ever ſince in driftes againſt the ſame, by the bloud and ruine of divers others: a man ſo well knowen to beare ſecret malice againſt her Majeſty, for cauſes irreconcileable, and moſt deadly rancour againſt the beſt and wiſeſt Councellours of her highneſſe: that ſuch a one (I ſay ſo hatefull) to God and man, and ſo markeable to the ſimpleſt ſubject of this Land by the publique inſignes of his tyrannous purpoſe, ſhould bee ſuffered ſo many yeares without check, to aſpire to tyranny by moſt manifeſt wayes, and to poſſeſſe himſelfe (as now hee hath done) of Court, Councell, and Countrey, without controlement: ſo that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleaſure, and the day already conceived in his mind to diſpoſe as hee liſt, both of Prince, Crowne, Realme, and Religion. A ſtrange ſpeculation.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you ſay, and it miniſtreth not a little marvaile unto many, whereof your worſhip is not the firſt, nor yet the tenth perſon of *Scholar.*

accompt which I have heard diſcourſe and cõplaine. But what ſhall wee ſay hereunto? there is no man that aſcribeth not this unto the ſingular benignity and moſt bountifull good nature of her Majeſty who meaſuring other men by her owne Heroycall and Princely ſincerity: cannot eaſily ſuſpect a man ſo much bounden to her grace, as hee is, nor remove her confidence from the place, where ſhee hath heaped ſo infinite beneſites.

The Queens Majeſties moſt excellent good nature.

Gentleman. No doubt (ſaid the Gentleman) but this gracious and ſweet diſpoſition of her Majeſty is the true originall cauſe thereof: which Princely diſpoſition, as in her highneſſe it deſerveth all rare commendation, ſo lieth the ſame open to many dangers often times, when ſo benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious perſons: which obſervation perhaps, cauſed her Majeſties moſt noble Grandfather and Father (two renowned wiſe Princes) to withdraw ſome time upon the ſudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects of high eſtate. And her Majeſty may eaſily uſe her owne excellent wiſedome and memory, to recall to mind the manifold examples of perilous happes fallen to divers Princes, by to much confidence in obliged proditours: with whom the name of a Kingdome, and one houres raigne, weyeth more, then all the duty, obligation, honeſty, or nature in the World. Would God her Majeſty could ſee the continuall feares that bee in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is about her noble perſon, ſo well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to bee the calamity, of her Princely bloud and name.

Feares that ſubjects have of my L. of Leyceſter.

The talke will never out of many mouths and minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and once a wiſe Gentleman now a Councellour, had with a certaine friend of his, concerning the preſage and deepe

Sir Francis Walſingham.

deep impreſſion, which her Majeſties Father had of the Houſe of Sir *John Dudley*, to bee the ruine in time of his Majeſties Royall houſe and bloud, which thing was like to have beene fulfilled ſoone after (as all the World knoweth) upon the death of King *Edward* by the ſaid *Dudley* this mans Father: who at one blow, procured to diſpatch from a poſſeſſion of the Crown, all three children of the ſaid noble King. And yet in the middeſt of thoſe bloudy practizes againſt her Majeſty that now is and her ſiſter (wherein alſo this fellowes hand was ſo farre, as for his age hee could thruſt the ſame,) within ſixteene dayes before King *Edwards* death (hee knowing belike that the King ſhould die) wrote moſt flattering letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promiſſing all loyalty and true ſervice to her, after the deſceaſe of her brother, with no leſſe painted words, then this man now doth uſe to Queene *Elizabeth*. Deepe diſſimulation.

So dealt hee then with the moſt deare children of his good King and Maſter, by whom hee had beene no leſſe exalted and truſted, then this man is by her Majeſty. And ſo deepely diſſembled hee then when hee had in hand the plot to deſtroy them both. And what then (alas) may not wee feare and doubt of this his ſonne, who in outragious ambition and deſire of raigne, is not inferiour to his Father, or to any other aſpiring Spirit in the World, but farre more inſolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, ſubtile, fine, and fox-like then ever hee was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foreſaid Gentleman, to his friend at the ſame time, and doe aſſure my ſelfe it would bee moſt pleaſant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majeſty to wit, that this mans actions might bee called publiquely to triall, and liberty given to good ſub- Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

jects, to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first yeare of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queene *Mary* against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to leese their heads for treason: this man would not bee found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

Edmund D'Dudley.

Robert Dudley.

Lawyer. After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, and looking round about him, as though hee had beene halfe afeard, and then said. My masters, doe you read over or study the statutes that come forth? have you not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my L. of *Leycester* is?

Gentleman. Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my L. of *Leycester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall restraint might lie the more quietly in harbour from the tempest of mens tongues, which tatled busily at that time, of divers his Lordships actions and affaires, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secresie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon Monsieurs first comming into the Land: of his disgrace and checks received in Court: of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*: and of this mans hasty snatching up of the widdow, whom hee sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privy wayes, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queenes Majesty. And albeit hee had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and re-

The Law against talking.

Actions of *Leycester* whereof hee would have no speech.

married

married her for contentation of her friends: yet denied hee the same, by solemne oath to her Majesty and received the holy Communion thereupon (so good a conscience hee hath) and consequently threatned most sharp revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which hee desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Scholar.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when Monsieurs matters were in hand, and that hee did many things and purposed more, whereof hee desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeare not farre from *Warwicke* when hee came thither from the Court a full *Mal-Content*, and when it was thought most certainely throughout the Realm, that hee would have taken armes soone after, if the marriage of her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward. The thing in *Cambridge* and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every mans mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.

Leicesters preparatives to rebellion upon Monsieurs marriage.

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at *Killingworth*, that the matter would cost many broken heads before *Michelmasse* day next: and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his table in *Greenwich*, Sir *Thomas Hennige* being by (if I bee not deceived,) that it was not to bee suffered (I meane the marriage) which words of his once comming abroad (albeit misliked by his owne Lady then also present) every Serving-man and Common-companion, tooke then up

up in defence of his Lordſhips part againſt the Queenes Majeſty. Such running there was, ſuch ſending and poſting about the Realme, ſuch amplification of the powers and forces of *Caſimere* and other Princes, ready, (as was affirmed) to preſent themſelves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion againſt ſtrangers:) for that was holden to bee his cauſe) ſuch numbring of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himſelfe ſhewed the Catalogue to ſome of his friends for their comfort) ſuch debaſing of them that favoured the marriage (eſpecially two or three Counſellors by name, who were ſaid to bee the cauſe of all, and for that were appointed out to bee ſharpely puniſhed to the terrour of all others:) ſuch letters were written and intercepted of purpoſe, importing great powers to bee ready, and ſo many other things done and deſigned, tending all to manifeſt and open warre: as I began heartily to be afeard, and wiſhed my ſelfe backe at *Cambridge* againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne ſhould excuſe mee from neceſſity of fighting, or if not, I was reſolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Ariſtotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare: aſſuring my ſelfe withall, that his Lordſhip ſhould have no better ſucceſſe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cauſe, and ſo much the more for that I was privy to the minds of ſome of his friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongſt other, there was a certaine Vice-preſident in the World, who being left in the roome and abſence of an other, to procure friends: ſaid in a place ſecretly not farre from *Ludlow*, that if the matter came to blowes, hee would follow his Miſtreſſe, and leave his Maſter in the briars.

To Sir Tho. Layton.

L Treaſurer.
L Chamberlaine.
M. Comptroller.

Sir Thomas Hibbot.

Marry

Marry Sir (quoth the Gentleman) and I trow many more would have followed that example. For albeit I know, that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part, in that cause, for their open inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently, for greater discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every where by this Champion of religion, that her Majesties cause, was the Papists cause, (even as his Father had done in the like enterprise before him, though all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where hee professed himselfe an earnest Papist:) yet was there no man so simple in the Realme, which descried not this Vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, what so ever hee had beene. And much more the thing it selfe in controversie (I meane the marriage of her Royall Majesty with the brother and heire apparant of *France*,) being taken and judged by the best, wisest and faithfulest Protestants of the Realme, to bee both honourable, convenient, profitable and needfull. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne and present remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at home, had at once beene cured: all forraine enemies, and domesticall conspirators, all differences, all dangers, all feares had ceased together: *France* had beene ours most assured: *Spaine* would not a little have trembled: *Scotland* had beene quiet: our competitors in *England* would have quaked: and for the Pope hee might have put up his pipes. Our differences in religion at home, had beene either lesse, or no greater then now they are, for that Monsieur being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions, was content with very reasonable conditions, for himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their con-

Gentleman.

Leycesters Father a trayterous Papist.

The honour and commodities by the marriage with *France*.

science not unlikely (truly) but that in time her might by Gods grace, and by the great wisedome and vertue of her Majesty have beene brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queene *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our *English* Princes.

Ethelbert King of *Kent*, converted *An. dom.* 603.

Vnto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of there royall bodies, (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) wee then (doubtles) had beene the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have beene (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all *Europe* besides, as our Brethren of *France* well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both, in *Re* and *Spe*, this Tyrant for his owne private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lieth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour and confidence as never Prince the like, putting twice his owne person to jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malitious enviours here in *England* for her Majesties sake.

Lawyer. When you speake of Monsieur (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly bee moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some other especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke mee partiall, but truly I am not: for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countrey, and that is, that by Monsieurs match with our noble Princesse, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union of little tollerations in religion, betweene

you

you and us, might have beene procured in this ſtate, as wee ſee that in ſome other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut of quite all dangers and dealings from forraine Princes, and would have ſtopped many deviſes and plots within the Realme: whereas now by this breach with *France*, wee ſtand alone as nee ſeemeth without any great unſtion or friendſhip abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and ſharp then ever before. Vpon which two heads, as alſo upon infinit other cauſes, purpoſes, drifts and pretences, there doe enſue dayly more deepe, dangerous and deſperate practizes, every man uſing either the commodity or neceſſity of the time and ſtate for his owne purpoſe, eſpecially, now when all men preſume that her Majeſty (by the continuall thwartings which have beene uſed againſt all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that pretious Jewell ſo much and long deſired of all Engliſh hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Tolleration in Religion, with union in defence of our Country.

Gentleman. Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majeſties moſt honourable offers of marriage? (ſaid the other) truly in my opinion you ſhould have uſed an other word to expreſſe the nature of ſo wicked a fact: whereby alone, if their were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to his Commonwealth, then if hee had murdered many thouſands of her ſubjects, or betrayed whole armies to the profeſſed enemy. I can remember well my ſelfe, foure treatiſes to this purpoſe, undermined by his meanes; The firſt with the *Swethen* King: the ſecond with the Archduke of *Auſtria*: the third with *Henry* King of *France* that now reigneth: and the fourth with the brother and heire of the ſaid Kingdome. For I let paſſe

Divers marriages of her Ma. defeated.

paſſe many other ſecret motions made by great Potentates to her Majeſty for the ſame purpoſe, but theſe foure are openly knowen, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowen to have beene all diſturbed by this *Dawus*, as they were earneſtly purſued by the other.

Leyceſter deviſes to drive away all Suters from her Majeſty.

And for the firſt three Suters, hee drove them away, by proteſting and ſwearing that himſelfe was contracted unto her Majeſty, whereof her highneſſe was ſufficiently advertiſed by Cardinall *Chaſtilian* in the firſt treaty for *France*, and the Cardinall ſoone after puniſhed (as is thought) by this man with poiſon. But yet thus ſpeech hee gave out then, every where among his friends both ſtrangers and other, that hee (forſooth) was aſſured to her Majeſty and conſequently that all other Princes muſt give over their ſutes, for him. Whereunto notwithſtanding, when the *Swethen* would hardly give eare, this man conferred with his Privado to make a moſt unſeemely and diſloyall proofe thereof for the others ſatisfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to paſſe over with ſilence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as alſo I am to conceale his ſaid filthy Privado, though worthy otherwiſe for his diſhoneſty to bee diſplayed to the World: but my Lord himſelfe, I am ſure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wiſe man at that time who knowing my L. ſuſpected not the falſe-hood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Majeſty, yet ſome both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his knowen marriage with his Minion Dame *Lettice* of *Eſſex*, hee hath declared manifeſtly his owne moſt impudent and diſloyall dealing with his ſoveraigne in this report.

Leyceſter convinced himſelfe of impudency.

For-

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common and maintained by many, for divers yeares: yet did the wiſer ſort make no accompt thereof, ſeeing it came onely from himſelfe, and in his owne behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majeſty who refuſed ſo noble Knights and Princes as *Europe* hath not the like: would make choiſe of ſo meane a peere as *Robin Dudley* is, noble onely in two deſcents, and both of them ſtained with the Block from which alſo himſelfe, was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by law for his deſerts, as appeareth yet in publike records. And for the widdow of *Eſſex*, I marvaile Sir (quoth hee) how you call her his wife, ſeeing the canon law ſtandeth yet in force touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Lawyer.

The baſenes of *Leyceſters* anceſtors.

Anno 1. R. Mary.

Oh (ſaid the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that hee procured the poiſoning of her Husband, in his journey from *Ireland*. You muſt thinke that Doctor *Dale* will diſpence in that matter, as hee did (at his Lordſhips appointment) with his *Italian* phyſitian Doctor *Iulio*, to have two wives at once: at the leaſt wiſe the matter was permitted, and borne out by them both publiquely (as all the World knoweth) and that againſt no leſſe perſons then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* himſelfe, whoſe overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contraryng his will, in ſo beaſtly a demand. But for this controverſie whether the marriage bee good or no, I leave it to bee tried hereafter, betweene my yong L. of *Denbighe*, and M. *Philip Sidney*, whom the ſame moſt concerneth: For that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance if it take place, (as ſome will ſay that in no reaſon it can,) not onely in reſpect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties: but alſo for that my L. was contracted, at leaſt, to an other

Gentleman.

Doctor *Dale.*

Doctor *Iulio.*

The Archbiſhops overthrow for not allowing two wives to *Leyceſter* his Phyſitian.

The Lady *Sheffield* now Embaſſadeſſe in *France*.

Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof M. *Edward Diar* and M. *Edmond Tilney* both Courtiers can bee witneſſes, and conſumated the ſame contract by generation of children. But this (as I ſaid) muſt bee left to bee tried hereafter by them which ſhall have moſt intereſt in the caſe. Onely for the preſent I muſt advertiſe you, that you may not take hold ſo exactly of all my L. doings in Womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their huſbands.

The death of *Leyceſters* firſt Lady & wife.

For firſt his Lordſhip hath a ſpeciall fortune, that when hee deſireth any womans favour, then what perſon ſo ever ſtandeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly for the finiſhing of his deſire. As for example: when his Lordſhip was in full hope to marry her Majeſty, and his owne wife ſtood in his light, as hee ſuppoſed: hee did but ſend her aſide, to the houſe of his ſervant *Forſter* of *Cumner* by *Oxford*, where ſhortly after ſhee had the chance to fall from a paire of ſtaires, and ſo to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that ſtood upon her head. But Sir *Richard Varney*, who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had ſent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a market two miles of, hee (I ſay) with his man can tell how ſhee died, which man being taken afterward for a fellony in the marches of *Wales*, and offering to publiſh the manner of the ſaid murder, was made away privily in the priſon. And Sir *Richard* himſelfe dying about the ſame time in *London*, cried pitiouſly, and blaſphemed God, and ſaid to a Gentleman of worſhip of mine acquaintance, not long before his death: that all the Divels in Hell did teare him in peeces. The wife alſo of *Bald Buttler* Kinſman to my L. gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to

Sir *Richard Varney*.

Bald Buttler.

returne

returne unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife die, at that time when I was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this, hee fell in love with the Lady *Sheffield* whom I signified before, and then also had hee the same fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extreame reume in his head (as it was given out;) but as other say, of an artificiall Catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had hee in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: for when hee was comming home from *Ireland*, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leycester*, for begetting his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter and brought up by the Lady *Shandoies*, *W. Knooles* his wife:) my Lord of *Ley* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputie, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crompton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottels, and *Lloid* his Secretary entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leycester*. And so hee died in the way of an extreame Flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured: the maker whereof was a Surgion (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from *Italy*. A cunning man and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had beene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, shee should not have needed to have sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the fower Countrey, but might have spared the yong child in her belly, which shee was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

The suspitious death of the Lord *Sheffield*.

The poisoning of the Earle of *Essex*.

The shifting of a child in Dame Letitie belly.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died in

in divers manners of outward diſeaſes, for this is the excellency of the *Italian* art, for which this Surgion and D. *Iulio* were entertained ſo carefully, who can make a man die, in what manner or ſhew of ſickneſſe you will: by whoſe inſtructions no doubt but his Lordſhip is now cunning, eſpecially adding alſo to theſe the counſell of his Doctor *Bayly*, a man alſo not a little ſtudied (as hee ſeemeth in his art. For I heard him once my ſelfe in publique act in *Oxford* (and that in preſence of my Lord of *Leycester* if I bee not deceived) maintaine, that poiſon might ſo bee tempered and given as it ſhould not appeare preſently, and yet ſhould kill the party afterward at what time ſhould bee appointed. Which argument belike pleaſed well his Lordſhip and therefore was choſen to bee diſcuſſed in his audience, if I bee not deceived of his being that day preſent. So though one die of a Flux, and another of a Catarre, yet this importeth little to the matter, but ſheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

The divers operation of poyſon.

Doctor *Bayly* the yonger.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have ſaid before,) having accuſed my Lord of *Leycester* to the Queenes Majeſty, and after that, paſſing from *London* towards *France* about the marriage, died by the way at *Canterbury* of a burning Fever: and ſo proved Doctor *Baylies* aſſertion true, that poiſon may bee given to kill at a day.

Death of Cardinall *Chatilian.*

Scholar. At this the Lawyer caſt up his eyes to Heaven, and I ſtood ſomewhat muſing and thinking of that which had beene ſpoken of the Earle of *Eſſex*, whoſe caſe indeed moved mee more then all the reſt, for that hee was a very noble Gentleman, a great Advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards mee and ſome of my friends in particular, hee had beene in ſome things very benefi-

ficiall:

ciall: and therefore I ſaid that it grieved mee extreamely to heare or thinke of ſo unworthy a death contriued by ſuch meanes to ſo worthy a Peere. And ſo much the more, for that it was my chance, to come to the vnderſtanding of diuers particulars concerning that thing, both from one *Lea* an Iriſh-man, *Robin Hennies* and other, that were preſent at *Penteneis* the Marchants houſe in *Deueling* vpon the kay, where the Murder was committed. The matter was wrought eſpecially by *Crompton* yeoman of the hottels, by the procurement of *Lloyd* as you haue noted before, and there was poiſoned at the ſame time and with the ſame cup (as giuen of curteſie by the Earle) one Miſtreſſe *Ales Drayket* a goodly Gentlewoman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who departing thence towards her owne houſe, (which was 18. miles of, the foreſaid *Lea* accompanying her, and wayting vpon her,) ſhee began to fall ſick very grieuouſly vpon the way, and continued with increaſe of paines and exceſſiue torments, by vomiting, vntill ſhee died, which was the Sunday before the Earles death, enſuing the Friday after, and when ſhee was dead, her body was ſwolne vnto a monſtrous bigneſſe and deformity, whereof the good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the caſe greatly, and ſaid in the preſence of his Seruants, Ah poore *Ales*, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard deſtiny to taſt thereof.

Lea.
Hennies.

Miſtreſſe *Drayket* poiſoned with the Earle of *Eſſex.*

Yong *Hennies* alſo whoſe Father is Maſter of the children of her Majeſties Chappell, being at that time Page to the ſaid Earle, and accuſtomed to take the taſt of his drinke (though ſince entertained alſo among other by my Lord of *Leyceſter* for better couering of matter) by his taſt that hee then tooke of the compound cup, (though in very ſmall quantity, as you know

know the fashion is:) yet was hee like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire: which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth: called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunk to *Hommies*, saying: I drinke to thee my *Robin*, and bee not afeard, for this is a better cup of drinke then that, whereof thou tookest the tast when wee were both poisoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must loose my life. This hath yong *Hommies* reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithence his comming into *England*, and the foresaid *Lea* Irishman at his passage this way towards *France*, after hee had beene present at the forenamed Mistresse *Draykots* death, with some other of the Earles Servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may doe it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leycesters* revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should bee so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may bee safe if this bee suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service if this shall bee his reward? But (Sir) I pray you pardon mee, for I am somewhat perhaps to vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

The Earle of Essex speech to his Page *Robin Hommies*.

Gentleman. I was recounting unto you others (said the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leycester* with like art, and the next in order I thinke was Sir *Nicolas Throgmarton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leycester* used a great while (as all the World knoweth)

Death of Sir *Nicholas Throgmarton*.

knoweth) to over-thwart and croſſe the doings of my Lord Treaſurer then Sir *Will. Cicill*, a man ſpecially miſliked alwayes of *Leyceſter*, both in reſpect of his old Maſter the Duke of *Somerſet*, as alſo for that his great wiſedome, zeale and ſingular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans deſignements: wherefore underſtanding after a certaine time that theſe two Knights were ſecretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as hee imagined,) which might turne to ſome prejudice of his purpoſes: (having conceived alſo a ſecret grudge and griefe againſt him, for that hee had written to her Majeſty at his being Embaſſadour in *France*, that hee heard reported at Duke *Memorances* table, that the Queene of *England* had a meaning to marry her Horſe-keeper) hee invited the ſaid Sir *Nicholas* to a Supper at his houſe in *London* and at Supper time departed to the Court, being called for (as hee ſaid) upon the ſudden by her Majeſty, and ſo perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to ſit and occupie his Lordſhips place, and therein to bee ſerved as hee was: and ſoone after by a ſurfeit their taken, hee died of a ſtrange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, hee declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumſtance and cauſe of his diſeaſe, which hee affirmed plainely to bee of poiſon, given him in a Salat at Supper, inveying moſt earneſtly againſt the Earles cruelty and bloudy diſpoſition, affirming him to bee the wickedeſt, moſt perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what avalled this, when hee had now received the bait.

Sir *Will. Cycill* now L. Treaſurer.

The poiſoning of Sir *Nicholas* in a Salat.

This then is to ſhew the mans good fortune, in ſeeing them dead, whom for cauſes hee would not have to live. And for his art of poiſoning, it is ſuch

now and reacheth so farre, as hee holdeth all his foes in *England* and els where, as also a good many of his friends in feare thereof, and if it were knowen how many hee hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would bee marvailous to the posterity. The late Earle of *Sussex* wanted not a scruple for many yeares before his death, of some dramme received that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Simiers*, it was discovered by great providence of God, that his life was to bee attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspection,) it was concluded that the same should bee assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

The Lord Chamberlaine.

Monsieur *Simiers.*

It hath beene told mee also by some of Servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the bloud Royall by *Scotland* as all men know, and consequently little liked by *Leycester*: that a little before her death or sickneſſe, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kindneſſe, at her house at *Hackney*, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as hee was departed, the good Ladie fell into such a Flux, as by no meanes could bee stayed so long as shee had life in her body, whereupon both shee herselfe, and all such as were neare about her, and saw her disease and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the Women that served her bee examined, as also *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath beene entertained by my Lord of *Leycester*. *Mallet* also a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if hee

The poisoning of the Lady *Lenox.*

hee were demanded. So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying and hee seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvaile though his Lordship bee somewhat divers, variable and inconstant, with himselfe, for that according to his profit or his pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, hee surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Heliogabalus* himselfe:) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, using the third for a time, and hee fawning upon the fourth. And for this cause hee hath his tearmes and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts, and Retracts: as for example: after hee had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract, then forsooth would hee needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, hee would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so hee did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at *Newington*, and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowen) at *Dudley* Castle. But yet after, his concupiscence changing againe (as it never stayeth) hee resolved to make a retract, of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new, protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the Widdow of *Essex*: But yet to stop the mouths of out criars-

Leycesters most variable dealing with Women in contracts and marriages.

Contracts.

Precontracts.

Postcontracts.

Retract.

Protract.

Leycesters two Testaments.

criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of *Leycester*, were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) hee was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his limmes to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, hee so useth (as wee see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage: as hee will alwayes yet keepe a voyd place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Scholar. Now by my truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life: yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousnesse of divers outragious persons, in this kind of sinne, as namely these whom you have mentioned before: especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all other, and was called *Varius*, of the variety of filth which hee used in this kind of carnality, or carnall beastlinesse. Whose death was: that being at length odious to all men, and so slaine by his owne Souldiers, was drawen through the City upon the ground like a dogge, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph. *Hic projectus est inlomitæ & rabidæ libidinis catulus.* Here is throwen in, the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph, may also one day chance to serve my Lord of *Leycester* (whom you call the Beare-whelp,) if hee goe forward as hee hath begunne, and die as hee deserveth.

Varius Heliogabalus, and his most infamous death.

An Epitaph.

A pittifull permission.

But (good Sir) what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, and namely in so well governed, and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot should bee permitted upon mens wives, in a subject:

ſubject: whereas wee read that among the very Heathens, leſſe offences then theſe, in the ſame kind, were extreamely puniſhed in Princes themſelves, and that not onely in the perſon delinquent alone, but alſo by extirpation of the whole family for his ſake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinians* among the *Romans*. And here alſo in our owne Realme, wee have regiſtred in Chronicle, how that one King *Edwin* above ſix hundred yeares paſt was deprived of his Kingdome, for much leſſe ſcandalous facts then theſe.

The extirpation of the *Tarquinians*.

An. dom. 959.

Gentleman. I remember well the ſtory (quoth the Gentleman) and thereby doe eaſily make conjecture, what difference there is betwixt thoſe times of old, and our dayes now: ſeeing then, a crowned Prince could not paſſe unpuniſhed with one or two outragious acts, whereas now a ſubject raiſed up but yeſterday from the meaner ſort, rangeth at his pleaſure in all licentiouſneſſe, and that with ſecurity, void of feare both of God and man. No mans wife can bee free from him, whom his firie luſt liketh to abuſe, nor their Husbands able to reſiſt nor ſave from his violence, if they ſhew diſlike, or will not yeeld their conſent to his doings. And if I ſhould diſcover in particular how many good Husbands hee had plagued in this nature, and for ſuch delights, it were intollerable: for his concupiſcence and violence doe runne joyntly together, as in furious beaſts wee ſee they are accuſtomed. Neither holdeth hee any rule in his luſt beſides onely the motion and ſuggeſtion of his owne ſenſuality. Kindred, affinity or any other band of conſanguinity: religion, honour or honeſty taketh no place in his outragious appetite. What hee beſt liketh that hee taketh as lawfull for the time. So that Kinſ-woman, allie, friends wife, or daughter, or

The intollerable licentiouſneſſe of *Leyceſters* carnality.

or whatsoever female sort besides doth please his eye: (I leave out of purpose and for honour sake tearmes of kinred more neare) that must yeeld to his desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Henne and her Chicken together. There are not (by report) two Noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom hee hath not solicited by potent wayes: Neither contented with this place of honour, hee hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great Chamber, offering more for their allurement, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Corinth, if three hundreth pounds for a night, will make up the summe; or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise: having reported himselfe (so little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundreth pound lands by the yeare with as many Jewels as most Women under her Majesty used in *England:* which was no meane bait to one that used traffique in such marchandize: shee being but the leavings of an other man before him, whereof my Lord is nothing squemish, for satisfying of his lust, but can bee content (as they say) to gather up crummes when hee is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or other place of baser quality.

Money well spent.

Anne Vavisor.

The punishments of God upon *Leycester*, to do him good.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if hee were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chasticement in this World by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his bowels whereby misery and putrifaction is threatned to him dayly: and to his yong Sonne by the Widdow of *Essex*, (being *Filius peccati*) such a strange

ſtrange calamity of the falling ſickneſſe in his infancy, * as well may bee a witneſſe of the Parents ſinne and wickednesſe, and of both their waſted natures in iniquity: yet is this man nothing amended thereby, but according to the cuſtome of all old adulterers, is more libidinous at this day then ever before, more given to procure love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other ſuch meanes. And albeit for himſelfe, both age, and nature ſpent, doe ſomewhat tame him from the act, yet wanteth hee not will, as appeareth by the *Italian* Ointment, procured not many yeares paſt by his Surgion or *Mountibanck* of that Country, whereby (as they ſay) hee is able to move his fleſh at all times, for keeping of his credit, howſoever his inability bee otherwiſe for performance: as alſo one of his Phyſitians reported to an Earle of this Land, that his Lordſhip had a bottle for his Bed-head, of tenne pounds the Pint to the ſame effect. But my Maſters whether are wee fallen, unadviſed? I am aſhamed to have made mention of ſo baſe filthineſſe.

* The children of adulters ſhall be conſumed, and the ſeed of a wicked bed ſhall bee rooted out, ſaith God, *Sap.* 3.

Leyceſters ointment.

Leyceſters bottell.

Not without good cauſe (quoth I) but that wee are here alone and no man heareth us. Wherefore I pray you let us returne whereas wee left: and when you named my Lord of *Leyceſters* Daughter borne of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley* Caſtle, there came into my head a pritty ſtory concerning that affaire: which now I will recompt (though ſomewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the further ſtirring of this unſavery pudle, and foule dunghill, whereunto wee are ſlipped, by following my Lord ſomewhat to farre in his paths and actions.

Scholar.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grew acquainted three Moneths paſt with a certaine Miniſter, that now is dead, and was the ſame man that

was used at *Dudley* Castle, for complement of some sacred Ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter in that place: and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest and secret delivery of the Lady *Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby *Leycesters* appointed gossips, might without other suspition have accesse to the place) should faigne herselfe to bee with child, and after long and sore travell (God wot) to bee delivered of a cushion (as shee was indeed) and a little after a faire Coffin was buried with a bundell of cloutes in shew of a child: and the Minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solemne interring thereof: for which thing, afterward, before his death hee had great griefe and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious devise of my Lord of *Leycester* in such a case.

A pretty devise.

An act of Atheisme.

Lawyer. Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the devise and at the Minister, and said now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides: I would bee loth that hee were married to my Daughter, as meane as shee is.

Gentleman. But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two bee his wife for the time then his guest: especially if the *Italian* Surgion or Physition bee at hand.

Lawyer. True it is, (said the Lawyer) for hee doth not poison his Wives, whereof I somewhat marvaile, especially his first wife, I muse why hee chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some *Italian* comfortive.

Gentleman. Hereof (said the Gentleman) may bee divers reasons

sons alleadged. First that he was not at that time so skilfull in those *Italian* wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Surgions for the purpose: nor yet in trueth doe I thinke that his mind was so setled then in mischiefe, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so hee at that time might bee desirous to have his wife made away, for that shee letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that, to the discretion of the murderer.

The first reason why *Leycester* slew his wife by violence, rather then by poison.

Secondly, it is not also unlikely that hee prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that hee should first attempt to kill her by poison, and if that tooke not place then by any other way to dispatch her, howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor *Bayly* who then lived in *Oxford* (an other manner of man then hee who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same Vniversity. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practize in *Cumner* among the conspiratours, to have poisoned the poore Lady a little before shee was killed, which was attempted in this order.

The second reason.

Doctor *Bayly* the elder.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that well knew by her other handling that her death was not farre off) began to perswade her, that her disease was abundance of Melancholly and other humours, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which shee absolutely refusing, to doe, as suspecting still the worst: they sent one

A practiſe for poiſoning the Lady *Dudley*.

day, (unawares to her) for Doctor *Bayly*, and deſired him to perſwade her to take ſome little potion at his hands, and they would ſend to fetch the ſame at *Oxford* upon his preſcription, meaning to have added alſo ſomewhat of their owne for her comfort as the Doctor upon juſt cauſes ſuſpected, ſeeing their great importunity, and the ſmall need which the good Lady had of Phyſick, and therefore hee flatly denied their requeſt, miſdoubting (as hee after reported) leaſt if they had poiſoned her under the name of his Potion: hee might after have beene hanged for a cover of their ſinne. Marry the ſaid Doctor remained well aſſured that this way taking no place, ſhee ſhould not long eſcape violence as after enſued. And the thing was ſo beaten into the heads of the principall men of the Vniverſity of *Oxford*, by theſe and other meanes: as for that ſhee was found murdered (as all men ſaid) by the Crowners inqueſt, and for that ſhee being haſtely and obſcurely buried at *Cumner* (which was condemned above as not adviſedly done) my good Lord, to make plaine to the World the great love hee bare to her in her life, and what a griefe the loſſe of ſo vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up againe and re-buried in the Vniverſity Church at *Oxford*, with great Pomp and ſolemnity: That Doctor *Babington* my Lords Chaplaine, making the publique funerall Sermon at her ſecond buriall, tript once or twice in his ſpeech, by recommending to there memories that vertuous Lady ſo pittifully murdered, inſtead of ſo pittifully ſlaine.

Doctor *Babington*.

A third reaſon.

A third cauſe of this manner of the Ladies death, may bee the diſpoſition of my Lords nature: which is bold and violent where it feareth no reſiſtance (as all cowardly natures are by kind) and where any difficulty

ficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to attempt all by art, ſubtilty, treaſon and treachery. And ſo for that hee doubted no great reſiſtance in the poore Lady to withſtand the hands of them which ſhould offer to breake her neck: hee durſt the bolder attempt the ſame openly.

But in the men whom hee poiſoned, for that they were ſuch valiant Knights the moſt part of them, as hee durſt as ſoone have eaten his ſcabard, as draw his ſword in publique againſt them: hee was inforced, (as all wretched irefull and daſtardly creatures are) to ſupplant them by fraud and by other mens hands. As alſo at other times, hee hath ſought to doe unto divers other noble and valiant perſonages, when hee was afraid to meet them in the field as a Knight ſhould have done.

His treacheries towards, the noble late Earle of *Suſſex* in their many breaches, is notorious to all *England*. As alſo the bloudy practizes againſt divers others.

But as among many, none were more odious and miſliked of all men, then thoſe againſt Monſieur *Simiers* a ſtranger and Ambaſſador: whom firſt hee practiſed to have poiſoned (as hath beene touched before) and when that deviſe tooke not place, then hee appointed that *Robin Tider* his man) as after upon his ale bench hee confeſſed) ſhould have ſlaine him at the Black-friars at *Greenewich* as hee went forth at the garden gate: but miſſing alſo of that purpoſe, for that hee found the Gentleman better provided and guarded then hee expected, hee dealt with certaine *Fluſſhiners* and other *Pirates* to ſinke him at Sea with the *Engliſh* Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his returne into *France*. And though they miſſed of this practize alſo, (as not daring to ſet upon

The intended Murder of Monſieur *Simiers* by ſundry meanes.

him for feare of ſome of her Majeſties ſhips, who, to breake off this deſignement attended by ſpeciall commandement, to waft him over in ſafety) yet the foreſaid *Engliſh* Gentlemen, were holden foure houres in chace at their comming back: as M. *Rawley* well knoweth being then preſent, and two of the Chacers named *Clark* and *Harris* confeſſed afterward the whole deſignement.

The intended murder of the Earle of *Ormond.*

The Earle of *Ormond* in like wiſe hath often declared, and will avowch it to my Lord of *Leyceſters* face, when ſo ever hee ſhall bee called to the ſame, that at ſuch time as this man had a quarell with him and thereby was likely to bee enforced to the field (which hee trembled to thinke of) hee firſt ſought by all meanes to get him made away by ſecret murder, offering five hundreth pounds for the doing thereof: and ſecondly when that deviſe tooke no place, hee appointed with him the field, but ſecretly ſuborning his Servant *William Killegre* to lie in the way where *Ormond* ſhould paſſe, and ſo to maſſaker him with a Calliver, before hee came to the place appointed. Which murder though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was *Killigre* placed afterward in her Majeſties privy Chamber by *Leyceſter*, for ſhewing his ready mind, to doe for his Maſter ſo faithfull a ſervice.

William Killegre.

Scholar. So faithfull a ſervice (quoth I?) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for ſo facinorous a fact. And as I would bee loth that many of his *Italians*, or other of that art, ſhould come nigh about her Majeſties Kitchen: ſo much leſſe would I, that many ſuch his bloudy Champions, ſhould bee placed by him in her highneſſe Chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may bee, that with change

of

of his place in ſervice, hee hath changed alſo his mind and affection, and received better inſtruction in the feare of the Lord.

But yet in generall I muſt needs ſay, that it cannot bee but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatſoever (eſpecially ſuch a one as the World taketh this man to bee) ſhould grow to ſo abſolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes perſon (the head, the heart, the life of the land) what ſo ever people liketh him beſt, and that now upon their deſerts towards the Prince, but towards himſelfe: whoſe fidelity being more obliged to their advancer then to their ſoveraigne, doe ſerve for watchmen about the ſame, for the profit of him, by whoſe appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes caſting indeed but Nettes and Chaines, and inviſible bands about that perſon, whom moſt of all hee pretendeth to ſerve, he ſhutteth up his Prince in a priſon moſt ſure, though ſweet and ſenſeleſſe.

Preoccupation of her Majeſties perſon.

Neither is this art of aſpiring new or ſtrange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former times: for that it hath beene from the beginning of all governement a troden path of all aſpirers. In the ſtories both Sacred and Prophane, forraine and domeſticall of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries, and States you ſhall read, that ſuch as meant to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne diſcretion: did lay this for the firſt ground and principle of their purpoſe: to poſſeſſe themſelves of all ſuch, as were in place about the principall: even as hee who intending to hold a great City at his owne diſpoſition, not dareth make open warre againſt the ſame: getteth ſecretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Townes, Villages,

An ordinary way of aſpiring by preoccupation of the Princes perſon.

A Compariſon.

Villages, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, Bulwarkes, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Paſſages, about the ſame, and ſo without drawing any ſword againſt the ſaid City, hee bringeth the ſame into bondage to abide his will and pleaſure.

This did all theſe in the Romane Empire, who roſe from ſubjects to bee great Princes, and to put downe Emperours. This did all thoſe in *France* and other Kingdomes, who at ſundry times have tyranized their Princes. And in our owne Country the examples are manifeſt of *Vortiger*, *Harold*, *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, *Richard* of *Warwick*, *Richard* of *Gloceſter*, *John* of *Northumberland* and divers others, who by this meane ſpecially, have pulled downe their Lawfull ſoveraignes.

The way of aſpiring in Duke *Dudley*.

And to ſpeake onely a word or two of the laſt, for that hee was this mans Father: doth not all *England* know, that hee firſt overthrew the good Duke of *Somerſet*, by drawing to his devotion the very ſervants and friends of the ſaid Duke? And afterward did not hee poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Kings owne perſon, and brought him to the end which is knowen, and before that, to the moſt ſhamefull diſheriting of his owne Royall Siſters: and all this, by poſſeſſing firſt the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore Sir if my Lord of *Leyceſter* have the ſame plot in his head (as moſt men thinke) and that hee meaneth one day to give the ſame puſh at the Crowne by the Houſe of *Huntington*, againſt all the race and line of King *Henry* the ſeventh in generall, which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the Houſe of *Suffolke*, againſt the Children of King *Henry* the eight in particular: hee wanteth not reaſon to follow the ſame meanes and platforme of planting

ting ſpeciall perſons, for his purpoſe about the Prince for ſurely his Fathers plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but onely that God overthrew it at the inſtant: as happily hee may doe this mans) alſo notwithſtanding any diligence that humane wiſedome can uſe to the contrary.

To this ſaid the Gentleman: that my Lord of *Leyceſter* hath a purpoſe to ſhoot one day at the Diademe by the title of *Huntington*, is not a thing obſcure in it ſelfe, and it ſhall bee more plainely proved hereafter. But now will I ſhew unto you, for your inſtruction, how well this man hath followed his Fathers platforme (or rather paſſed the ſame) in poſſeſſing himſelfe of all her Majeſties ſervants, friends, and forces, to ſerve his turne at that time for execution, and in the meane ſpace for preparation. *Gentleman.*

First, in the privy Chamber, next unto her Majeſties Perſon, the moſt part are his owne creatures (as hee calleth them) that is, ſuch as acknowledge their being in that place, from him: and the reſt hee ſo over-ruleth either by flattery or feare, as none may dare but to ſerve his turne. And his raigne is ſo abſolute in this place, (as alſo in all other parts of the Court) as nothing can paſſe but by his admiſſion, nothing can bee ſaid, done, or ſignified, whereof hee is not particularly advertiſed: no bill, no ſupplication, no complaint, no ſute, no ſpeech, can paſſe from any man to the Princeſſe (except it bee from one of the Councell) but by his good liking: or if there doe: hee being admoniſhed thereof (as preſently hee ſhall:) the party delinquent is ſure after to abide the ſmart thereof. Whereby hee holdeth as it were a lock upon the eares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her Majeſties ſervants, ſo ſurely chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to ſpeake any one thing that may offend him, though *Leyceſters power in the privy Chamber.*

it bee never ſo true or behovefull for her Majeſty to know.

Leyceſter married at *Wansteads* when her Majeſty was at M. *Stevens* Houſe Doctor *Culpeper* Phyſitian Minister.

As well appeared in his late marriage with Dame *Eſſex*, which albeit it was celebrated twiſe: firſt at *Killingworth*, and ſecondly at *Wanstead* (in the preſence of the Earle of *Warwick*, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knooles* and others) and this exactly knowen to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witneſſes, and the Miniſter that married them together: yet no man durſt open his mouth to make her Majeſty privy thereunto, untill Monſieur *Simiers* diſcloſed the ſame, (and thereby incurred his high diſpleaſure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of *Leyceſter*. Which is a ſubjection moſt diſhonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to ſtand at the devotion of his ſubject, what to heare or not to heare, of things that paſſe within his owne Realme.

No ſute can paſſe but by *Leyceſter*.

And hereof it followeth that no ſute can prevaile in Court, bee it never ſo meane, except hee firſt bee made acquainted there with, and receive not onely the thankes, but alſo bee admitted unto a great part of the gaine and commodity thereof. Which, as it is a great injury to the ſuter: ſo is it a farre more greater to the bounty, honour and ſecurity of the Prince, by whoſe liberality this man feedeth onely, and fortifieth himſelfe, depriving his ſoveraigne of all grace, thankes, and good will for the ſame. For which cauſe alſo hee giveth out ordinarily, to every ſuter, that her Majeſty is nigh and parſimonious of her ſelfe, and very difficile to grant any ſute, were it not onely upon his inceſſant ſolicitation. Whereby hee filleth his owne purſe the more, and emptieth the hearts of ſuch as receive benefit, from due thankes to their Princes for the ſute obtained.

Read *Polidore* in the 7. yeare of King *Richard* 1. and you ſhall find this proceeding of certaine about that K. to bee put as a great cauſe of his overthrow.

Hereof alſo enſueth, that no man may bee prefer-

red

red in Court (bee hee otherwiſe never ſo well a deſerving ſervant to her Majeſty except hee bee one of *Leyceſters* faction or followers: none can bee advanced, except hee bee liked and prefered by him: none receive grace, except hee ſtand in his good favour, no one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except hee take it, uſe it, and acknowledge it from him, ſo as all the favours, graces, dignities, preferments riches and rewards, which her Majeſty beſtoweth, or the Realme can yeeld: muſt ſerve to purchaſe this man private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his party, and to fortifie his faction. Which faction if by theſe meanes it bee great, (as indeed it is:) you may not marvaile, ſeeing the riches and wealth, of ſo worthy a Common-weale, doe ſerve him but for a price to buy the ſame.

No preferments but by *Leyceſter* to *Leyceſtrians*.

Which thing himſelfe well knowing, frameth his ſpirit of proceeding accordingly. And firſt, upon confidence thereof, is become ſo inſolent and impotent of his Ire that no man may beare the ſame, how juſtly or injuſtly ſo ever it bee conceived: for albeit hee begin to hate a man upon bare ſurmiſes onely (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being alwayes the mother of ſuſpition) yet hee proſecuteth the ſame, with ſuch implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the party in that place. As might bee ſhewed by the examples of many whom hee hath chaſed from the Court, upon his onely diſpleaſure, without other cauſe, being knowne to bee otherwiſe, zealous Proteſtants. As Sir *Ierome Bowes*, Maſter *George Scot*, and others that wee could name.

Leyceſters anger and inſolency.

To this inſolency is alſo joyned (as by nature it followeth) moſt abſolute and peremptory dealing in all things whereof it pleaſeth him to diſpoſe, with-

Leyceſters peremptory dealing.

out respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custome, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example among the servants of the Queenes Majesties household, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custome, that when a place of higher roome falleth void, hee that by succession is next, and hath made proofe of his worthinesse in an inferiour place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untried, should bee placed in the higher roomes the first day, to the prejudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Breaking of order in her Majesties household.

Which most reasonable custome, this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher roomes any person whatsoever, so hee like his inclination or feele his reward: albeit hee neither be fit for the purpose, nor have beene so much as clarke in any inferiour office before.

Leycesters violating of all order in the countrey abroad.

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order election or degreee: as in the Vniversities, in election of Scholars and heads of houses, in Ecclesiasticall persons, for dignities of Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffes and Knights of the Shires, in Burgesses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every shire must weare his livery) and all other the like: where this mans will, must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes, neither is there any man, magistrate, or communer in the Realme, who dareth not sooner deny their petition of her Majesties letters, upon just causes (for that her highnesse is content after to bee satisfied with reason) then to

resist

reſiſt the commandement of this mans letters, who will admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction, but onely the execution of his ſaid commandement, bee it right or wrong.

Lawyer. To this anſwered the Lawyer, now verily (Sir) you paint unto mee a ſtrange paterne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that ſtranger, who calleth our ſtate in his printed booke *Leyceſtrenſem rempublicam*, a Leyceſtrian Common-wealth, or the Common-wealth of my Lord of *Leyceſter*, knoweth much of theſe matters. But to hold (Sir) ſtill within the Court: I aſſure you that by conſiderations, which you have ſaid downe, I doe begin now to perceive, that his party muſt needs bee very great and ſtrong within the laid Court, ſeeing that hee hath ſo many wayes and meanes to encreaſe, enrich, and encourage the ſame, and ſo ſtrong abilities, to tread downe his enemies. The Common ſpeech of many wanteth not reaſon I perceive, which calleth him the heart and life of the Court.

A Leyceſtrian Common wealth.

Gentleman. They which call him the heart (ſaid the Gentleman) upon a little occaſion more, would call him alſo the head: and then I marvaile what ſhould bee left for her Majeſty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headſhip in her owne Realme? But the truth is, that hee hath the Court at this day, in almoſt the ſame caſe, as his Father had it, in King *Edwards* dayes, by the ſame device, (the Lord forbid, that ever it come fully to the ſame ſtate, for then wee know what enſued to the principall:) and if you will have an evident demonſtration of this mans power and favour in that place: call you but to mind the times when her Majeſty upon moſt juſt and urgent occaſions, did with-draw, but a little her wonted favour and countenance towards him: did not all

Leyceſter called the heart and life of the Court.

A demonstration of *Leycesters* tyrannie in the Court.

the Court as it were, mutiny presently? did not every man hang the lippe? except a few, who afterward paid sweetly for their mirth, were there not every day new devises sought out, that some should bee on their knees to her Majesty, some should weepe and put finger in their eyes: other should find out certaine covert manner of threatning: other reasons and perswasions of love: other of profit: other of honour: other of necessitie: and all to get him recalled back to favour againe? And had her Majesty any rest permitted unto her, untill shee had yeelded and granted to the same.

Leycester provideth never to come in the Queenes danger again.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time, in his disgrace, hee had his faction so fast assured to himselfe: what hath he now in his prosperity, after so many yeares of fortification? wherein by all reason hee hath not beene negligent, seeing that in policy the first point of good fortification is, to make that fort impregnable, which once hath beene in danger to bee lost. Whereof you have an example in *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, in the time of King *Henry* the sixt, who being once in the Kings hands by his owne submission, and dimissed againe (when for his deserts, hee should have suffered: provided after, that the King should never bee able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his power to doe him hurt, but made himselfe strong enough to pull downe the other with extirpation of his family.

Anno Regni 31.

Leycesters puissance in the privy Councell.

And this of the Court, household and Chamber of her Majestie. But now if wee shall passe from Court to Councell, wee shall find him no lesse fortified but rather more: for albeit the providence of God hath beene such, that in this most honourable assemblie, there hath not wanted some two or three of the wisest, gravest, and most experienced in our state, that

have

have ſeene and marked this mans perillous proceedings from the beginning, (whereof notwithſtanding two are now diſceaſed, and their places ſupplied to *Leyceſters* good liking:) yet (alas) the wiſedome of theſe worthy men, hath diſcovered alwayes more, then their authorities were able to redreſſe: (the others great power and violence conſidered) and for the reſidue of that bench and table, though I doubt not but there bee divers, who doe in heart deteſt his doings (as there were alſo, no doubt among the Counſellours of King *Edward*, who miſliketh this mans Fathers attempts, though not ſo hardy as to contrary the ſame:) yet for moſt part of the Councell preſent, they are knowne to bee ſo affected in particular, the one for that hee is to him a Brother, the other a Father, the other a Kinſman, the other an allie, the other a faſt obliged friend, the other a fellow or follower in faction, as none will ſtand in the breach againſt him: none dare reſiſt or encounter his deſignements: but every man yeelding rather to the force of his flow, permitteth him to pearce, and paſſe at his pleaſure, in whatſoever his will is once ſetled to obtaine.

L. Keeper. L. Chamberlaine.

And hereof (were I not ſtayed for reſpect of ſome whom I may not name) I could alledge ſtrange examples, not ſo much in affaires belonging to ſubjects and to private men, (as were the caſes of *Snowden* forreſt, *Denbigh* of *Killingworth*, of his faire Paſtures fowly procured by *Southam*, of the Archeiſhop of *Canterbury*, of the L. *Barkley*, of Sir *John Throgmorton*, of Maſter *Robinſon* and the like;) wherein thoſe of the Councell that diſliked his doings, leaſt dared to oppoſe themſelves to the ſame: but alſo in things that appertaine directly to the Crowne and dignity, to the State and Common-weale, and to the ſafety

Matters wherein the Councell are inforced to winke at *Leyceſter*.

safety and continuance thereof. It is not secure for any one Councellour, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errours or misdeeds, but with extreame perill of there owne ruine.

Leycesters intelligence with the rebellion in Ireland.

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in *Ireland*, when my Lord of *Leycester* was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined but in fraile state at home, hee thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so hee did: whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompt, that was there slaine, (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured mee) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of *Leycester*: who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you? durst any man take notice hereof, or avouch that hee had seene thus much? durst hee that tooke it in *Ireland*, deliver the same where especially hee should have done? or they who received it in *England*, (for it came to great hands,) use it to the benefit of their Princes and Country? No surely: for if it had beene but onely suspected, that they had seene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to *Acteon* to have seene *Diana* and her Maidens naked: whose case is so common now in *England* as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare: whose unfortunate knowledge of to many secrets, brought them quickly to unfortunate ends.

Acteon's case now come in England.

Salvatour slaine in his bed.

For wee heare of one *Salvatour* a stranger, long used in great Mysteries of base affaires and dishonest actions, who afterward (upon what demerit I know not) sustained ahard fortune, for being late with my Lord

Lord in his ſtudy, well neare untill midnight, (if I bee rightely informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next morning was found ſlaine in his bed. Wee heare alſo of one *Doughty*, hanged in haſt by Captaine *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought) before his departure out of *England*, for that hee was over privy to the ſecrets of this good Earle.

Doughty hanged by *Drake*.

There was alſo this laſt Summer paſt, one, *Gates* hanged at *Tiborne*, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which *Gates* had beene lately Clarke of my Lords Kitching, and had layed out much money of his owne, (as hee ſaid) for my Lords proviſion, being alſo otherwiſe, in ſo great favour and grace with his Lord as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his ſecrets then this man, whereupon alſo it is to bee thought, that hee preſumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to ſuch things doth my Lords good favour moſt extend:) and being apprehended and in danger for the ſame, hee made his recourſe to his honour for, protection, (as the faſhion is) and that hee might bee borne out, as divers of leſſe merit had beene by his Lordſhip, in more heinous cauſes before him.

The ſtory of *Gates* hanged at *Tiborne*.

The good Earle anſwered his Servant and deare Privado curteouſly, and aſſured him, for his life, how ſo ever for utter ſhew or complement the forme of Law might paſſe againſt him. But *Gates* ſeeing himſelfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magiſtrate which might come in an inſtant, when it would bee too late to ſend to his Lord: remembring alſo the ſmall aſſurance of his ſaid Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy: hee thought good to ſollicite his caſe alſo

by ſome other of his friends, though not ſo puiſſant as his Lord and Maſter, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale then either hee or they had imagined: for that my Lord of *Leyceſter*, was not onely not his favorer, but a great haſtener of his death under hand; and that with ſuch care, diligence, vehemency, and irreſiſtable meanes, (having the Law alſo on his ſide,) that there was no hope at all of eſcaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of, hee eaſily beleeved for the experience hee had of his Maſters good nature, and ſaid, that hee alwayes miſtruſted the ſame, conſidering how much his Lordſhip was in debt to him, and hee made privie to his Lordſhips foule ſecrets, which ſecrets hee would, there preſently have uttered in the face of all the World, but that hee feared torments or ſpeedy death, with ſome extraordinary cruelty, if hee ſhould ſo have done, and therefore hee diſcloſed the ſame onely to a Gentleman of worſhip, whom hee truſted ſpecially, whoſe name I may not utter for ſome cauſes (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it bee long, by meanes of a friend of mine, to have a ſight of that diſcourſe and report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not ſeene nor ever ſpake I with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I bee well aſſured that the whole matter paſſed in ſubſtance as I have here recounted it.

Scholar. This relation of *Gates*, may ſerve hereafter for an addition in the ſecond edition of this booke.

Whereunto I anſwered, that in good faith it were pitty that this relation ſhould bee loſt, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therein, ſeeing it is done by a man ſo privy to the affaires themſelves, wherein alſo hee had beene uſed an inſtrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or els my friends ſhall faile mee, howbeit not ſo ſoone

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as I would, for that hee is in the West countrey that ſhould procure it for mee, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I ſhall ſee him againe, I will not leave him untill hee procure it for mee, as hee hath promiſed well (quoth I,) but what is become of that evidence found in *Ireland* under my Lords hand, which no man dare purſue, avouch, or behold.

Truly (ſaid the Gentleman) I am informed that it lieth ſafely reſerved in good cuſtody, to bee brought forth and avouched, when ſo ever it ſhall pleaſe God ſo to diſpoſe of her Majeſties heart, as to lend an indifferent eare, as well to his accuſers, as to himſelfe, in judgement. *Gentleman.*

Neither muſt you thinke, that this is ſtrange, nor that the things are few, which are in ſuch ſort reſerved in deck for the time to come, even among great perſonages, and of high calling, for ſeeing the preſent ſtate of his power to bee ſuch, and the tempeſt of his tyrannie to bee ſo ſtrong and boiſterous, as no man may ſtand in the rage thereof, without perill, for that even from her Majeſty her ſelfe, in the lenity of her Princely nature, hee extorteth what hee deſigneth, either by fraud, flattery, falſe information, requeſt, pretence, or violent importunity, to the overbearing of all, whom hee meaneth to oppreſſe: No marvaile then though many even of the beſt and faithfulleſt ſubjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the preſent time, and doe keepe ſilence in ſome matters, that otherwiſe they would take it for duty to utter. The deck reſerved for *Leyceſter.* *Leyceſters* puiſſant violence with the Prince herſelfe.

And in this kind, it is not long ſithence a worſhipfull and wiſe friend of mine told mee a teſtimony in ſecret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Councellour, as *England* hath enjoyed theſe

The Earle of *Suſſex* his ſpeech of the Earle of *Leyceſter*.

many hundreth yeares: I meane the late Lord Chamberlaine, with whom my ſaid friend being alone at his houſe in *London*, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred ſomewhat familiarly about theſe and like matters, as with a true Father of his Countrey and Common-wealth: and after many complaints in the behalfe of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Councellours, and ſaw that no notice would bee taken thereof: the ſaid noble man, turning himſelfe ſomewhat about from the water (for hee ſate neare his pond ſide, where hee beheld the taking of a pike or carpe) ſaid to my friend: It is no marvaile (Sir) for who dareth intermeddle himſelfe in my Lords affaires? I will tell you (quoth hee) in confidence betweene you and mee, there is as wiſe a man and as grave, and as faithfull a Councellour, as *England* breedeth, (meaning thereby the Lord Treaſurer) who hath as much in his keeping of *Leyceſters* owne hand writing, as is ſufficient to hang him, if either hee durſt preſent the ſame to her Majeſty, or her Majeſty doe juſtice when it ſhould bee preſented. But indeed (quoth hee) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to ſtruggle with him.

The Lord *Burghley*.

Theſe were that noble mans words, whereby you may conſider whether my Lord of *Leyceſter* bee ſtrong this day in Councell or no: and whether his fortification bee ſufficient in that place.

Leyceſters power in the Countrey abroad.

But now if out of the Councell, wee will turne but our eye in the Countrey abroad, wee ſhall find as good fortification alſo there, as wee have peruſed already in Court and Councell: and ſhall well perceive that this mans plot, is no fond or indiſcreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and ſuch as in all proportions hath his due correſpondence.

Con-

Consider then, the chiefe and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodity of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest off from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of Wales, the Ilands round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: Are they not all at this day at his disposition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches, have the same complot and purpose with him?

In *Yorke* is president, the man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinity, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In *Barwick* is Captaine, his Wives uncle, most assured to himselfe and *Huntington*, as one who at convenient time, may as much advance their designements, as any one man in *England*.

Yorke Earle of *Huntington*.

Barwick. The Lord *Hunsden*.

In *Wales* the chiefe authority from the Prince, is in his owne brother in law: but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of *Pembrooke*: who both by marriage of his sisters daughter is made his ally, and by dependence is knowne to bee wholly, at his disposition.

Wales. Sir *Henry Sidney*. The Earle of *Pembrooke*.

The West part of *England* is under *Bedford*, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

The West Earle of *Bedford*.

In *Ireland* was governour of late the principall instrument appointed for their purposes: both in respect of his heat, and affection toward their designements, as also of some secret discontentment, which hee hath towards her Majesty and the state present

The Lord *Grey*.

for certaine hard † speaches and ingrate recompences, as hee pretendeth: but indeed for that hee is knowne to bee of nature fyrie, and impatient of ſtay, from ſeeing that Common-wealth on foote, which the next competitours for their gaine, have painted out to him and ſuch others, more pleaſant then the Terreſtriall Paradiſe it ſelfe.

†Her Majeſty (as he ſaith, for ſtricking of Maſter *Forteſcue* called him lame wretch: that grieved him ſo, (for that hee was hurt in her ſervice at *Lieth*) as hee ſaid, hee would live to be revenged.

This then is the *Hector*, this is the *Ajax*, appointed for the enterpriſe, when the time ſhall come. This muſt bee (forſooth) an other *Richard* of *Warwick*, to gaine the Crowne for *Henry* the ninth of the Houſe of *Yorke*: as the other *Richard* did put downe *Henry* the ſixt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and placed *Edward* the fourth, from whom *Huntington* deriveth his title: therefore this man is neceſſarily to bee entertained from time to time, (as wee ſee now hee is) in ſome charge and martiall action, to the end his experience, power, and credit may grow the more, and hee bee able at the time to have ſouldiers at his commandement. And for the former charge which held of late in *Ireland*, as this man had not beene called away, but for execution of ſome other ſecret purpoſe, * for advancement of their deſignements: ſo bee well aſſured that for the time to come, it is to bee furniſhed againe with a ſure and faſt friend to *Leyceſter* and to that faction.

* In *Scotland* or els where, againſt the next inheritours or preſent poſſeſſor.

In the Ile of *Wight* I grant that *Leyceſter* hath loſt a great friend and a truſty ſervant by the death of Captaine *Horſey*, but yet the matter is ſupplied by the ſucceſſion of an other, no leſſe aſſured unto him, then the former, or rather more, through the band of affinity by his wife. The two Ilands of *Gerſey* and *Gernſey* are in the poſſeſſion of two friends and moſt obliged dependents. The one, by reaſon hee is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane proceedings:

Sir *Iohn Parotte.*

Sir *Edward Horſey.*

Sir *George Carew.*

Sir *Amias Paulet.*

Sir *Thomas Leyton.*

the

the other, as now being joyned unto him by the marriage of Mistres *Besse* his wives Sister, both Daughters to Sir *Francis*, or (at least) to my Lady *Knowles*, and so become a rivale, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefe Keyes, Fortresses, and Bulwarkes, within, without and about the Realme, which my Lord of *Leycester* possessing, (as hee doth,) hee may bee assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) hee wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides all aydes and other helpes specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artillery and Munition, by the office of his brother the Earle of *Warwick*, The Tower of *London* and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir *Owin Hopton* his sworne servant, as ready to receive and furnish him with the whole (if occasion served) as one of his predecessours was, to receive his Father in King *Edwards* dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty, and her Sister.

Her Majesties stable.
Her armour, munition, and artillery.
The Tower.

And in the City of *London* it selfe, what this man at a pinch, could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefe leaders, and (as it were) Commanders of the Commons there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his madde Recorder, and other such his instruments: as also in all other Townes, Ports and Cities of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his designements, and justices of peace with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.

London.
Sir *Rowland Heyward*, &c.
Madde *Fleetwood.*

Where-

Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture, which hee hath in *Killingworth* Castle and other places, as also the forces of *Huntington* in particular, with their friends, followers, allies, and Compartenors: you shall find that they are not behind in their preparations.

Scholar. My Lord of *Huntingtons* preparation at *Ashby.*

For my Lord of *Huntingtons* forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albeit they may bee very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of *Killingworth*, where one told mee some yeares past, that hee had furniture ready for five thousand men:) yet doe I not thinke, but that they are farre inferiour to my Lord of *Leycester* who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places. And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report, that in the same, hee hath well to furnish, ten thousand good souldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides all other munition, armour, & artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried back againe) and besides the great abundance of ready Coine, there laid up (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to bee done within the Realme.

Killingworth Castle.

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe: as when at a time her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to die, at *Hampton* Court, a certaine Gentleman of the Court, came unto my Lord of *Huntington*, and told him, that for so much as hee tooke his Lord to bee next in succession after her Majesty, hee would offer him a meane of great helpe, for compassing of his purpose, after the

Ralph Lane.

the diſeaſe of her Majeſty which was, the poſſeſſion of *Killingworth* Caſtle (for at that time theſe two Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate together) and that being had, hee ſhewed to the Earle the great furniture and wealth, which thereby hee ſhould poſſeſſe for purſuite of his purpoſe.

The offer and acceptation of *Killingworth* Caſtle.

The propoſition was well liked, and the matter eſteemed of great importance, and conſequently received with many thankes. But yet afterward her Majeſty by the good providence of God, recovering againe, letted the execution of the bargaine: and my Lord of *Huntington* having occaſion to joyne amity with *Leyceſter*, had more reſpect to his owne commodity, then to his friends ſecurity, (as commonly in ſuch perſons and caſes it falleth out) and ſo diſcovered the whole device unto him, who forgat not after, from time to time, to plague the deviſer by ſecret meanes, untill hee had brought him to that poore eſtate, as all the World ſeeth: though many men bee not acquainted with the true cauſe of this his diſgrace and bad fortune.

Lawyer.

To this anſwered the Lawyer: In good faith (Gentlemen) you open great myſteries unto mee, which either I knew not, or conſidered not ſo particularly before, and no marvaile, for that my profeſſion and exerciſe of law, reſtraineth mee from much company keeping: and when I happen to bee among ſome that could tell mee much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if any of himſelfe beginne to talke, leaſt afterward the ſpeech comming to light, I bee fetched over the coals (as the proverbe is) for the ſame, under pretence of an other thing. But you (who are not ſuſpected for religion) have much greater priviledge in ſuch matters, both to heare and ſpeake againe, which men of mine eſtate dare not doe: Onely this I knew

The prerogative of my Lord of *Leycester*.

before, that throughout all *England* my Lord of *Leycester* is taken for *Dominus fac totum*: Whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandement is dreadfull, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

And for his will, though it bee seldome law, yet alwayes is his power above law: and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet dominant, or as Seamen have to the North-Pole.

Leycester the Starre directory to Lawyers in their clients affaires.

For as they that saile, doe direct their course, according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole: and as Astronomers who make prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so wee doe guide our Clients barke, and doe prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of *Leycester*. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to aske, what part my Lord of *Leycester* is like to favour in the matter (for in all matters lightly of any importance, hee hath a part) or what may bee gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that wee give a gheese, more or lesse, what end will ensue.

But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I doe say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord generall over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandement, all these severall commodities and forces

forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned before, and so many more as bee in the Realme, and not mentioned by you (for in fine, hee hath all:) I could not but accompt him (as hee is) a potent Prince of our state, for all furniture needfull to defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch of our nobility, who hath sufficient of himselfe to plunge his Prince, if hee should bee discontented, especiall for his aboundance of money, (which, by the wise, is termed the Sinewes of Martiall actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is better furnished at this day, than ever any subject of our land, either hath beene heretofore, or lightly may bee hereafter, both for bankes without the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Insomuch that being my selfe in the last Parliament, when the matter was moved, for the grant of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had given very good reasons, why her highnesse was in want of money, and consequently needed the assistance of her faithfull subjects therein, an other that sat next mee of good accompt said in mine eare secretly: these reasons I doe well allow, and am contented to give my part in money: but yet, for her Majesties need, I could make answere as one answered once the Emperour *Tiberius* in the like case and cause: *Abundè ei pecuniæ fore, si à liberto suo in societatem recipiretur*; that her Majesty should have money enough, if one of her servants would vouchsafe to make her highnesse partaker with him: meaning thereby my Lord of *Leycester*, whose treasure must needs in one respect, bee greater, than that of her Majesty; for that hee layeth up whatsoever hee getteth, and his expenses hee calleth upon the purse of his Princes.

Leycesters furniture in money.

The saying of a Knight of the Shire touching *Leycesters* money.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether hee doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing both that

Gentleman.

which hee ſpendeth, and that hee hordeth, is truly and properly his Princes Treaſure: and ſeeing hee hath ſo many and divers wayes of gaining, what ſhould hee make accompt of his owne private expences? if hee lay out one for a thouſand, what can that make him the poorer? hee that hath ſo goodly lands, poſſeſſions, Seigniories and rich offices of his owne, as hee is knowne to have: hee that hath ſo ſpeciall favour and authority with the Prince, as hee can obtaine whatſoever hee liſteth to demand: hee that hath his part and portion in all ſutes beſides, that paſſe by grace, or els (for the moſt part) are ended by law: hee that may chop and change what lands hee liſteth with her Majeſtie, diſpoile them of all their woods and other commodities, and rack them afterward to the uttermoſt penny, and then remme the ſame, ſo tenter-ſtretched and bare-ſhorne, into her Majeſties hands againe, by freſh exchange, rent for rent, for other lands never enhanſed before: hee that poſſeſſeth ſo many gainefull licences to himſelfe alone of wine, oyles, currants, cloath, velvets, with his new office for licence of alienation, moſt pernitious unto the Common-wealth, as hee uſeth the ſame, with many other the like, which were ſufficient to enrich whole Townes, Corporations, Countries, and Common-wealths: hee that hath the art, to make gainefull to himſelfe every offence, diſpleaſure, and falling out of her Majeſty with him, and every angry countenance caſt upon him: hee that hath his ſhare in all offices of great profit and holdeth an abſolute Monopolie of the ſame: hee that diſpoſeth at his will the Eccleſiaſticall livings of the Realme, maketh Biſhops, none, but ſuch as will doe reaſon, or of his Chaplaines whom hee liſteth, and retaineth to himſelfe ſo much of the living as liketh him beſt: hee that ſweepeth away the

The infinite wayes of gaining that *Leyceſter* hath:

Sutes.

Lands.

Licenſes.

Falling out with her Majeſty.

Offices.

Cleargy.

glete

glebe from so many benefices throughout the land and compoundeth with the person for the rest. Hee that so scoureth the Vniversity and Colledges where hee is Chancellor, and selleth both headships and Schollars places, and all other offices, roomes and dignities, that by art or violence may yeeld money: hee that maketh title to what land or other thing hee please, and driveth the parties to compound for the same: hee that taketh in whole Forests, Commons, Woods and Pastures to himselfe, compelling the tenants to pay him new rent, and what hee cesseth: hee that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoever hee list, taketh from any what hee list, and maketh his owne claime, sute, and end as hee list: hee that selleth his favour with the Prince, both abroad in forraine Countries, and at home, and setteth the price thereof what himselfe will demand: hee that hath and doth all this, and besides this, hath infinite presents dayly brought unto him of great valew, both in Jewels, Plate, all kind of Furniture and ready Coine: this man (I say) may easily beare his owne expences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when needs shall require.

Benefices.

Vniversity.

Oppressions.

Rapines.

Princes favour.

Presents.

Lawyer. You have said much Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) and such matter, as toucheth neerely both her Majesty and the Common-wealth: and yet in my conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my Lord: I could not tell which of all these members to deny. But for that which you mention in the last part, of his gaining by her Majesties favour, both at home and abroad: Touching his home-gaine it is evident, seeing all that hee hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour towards him: and many men doe repaire unto him, with fat presents, rather for that they suppose, hee may by his favour doe them hurt, if hee teele not

Leycesters home-gaine by her Majesties favour.

their reward, then for that they hope hee will labour any thing in their affaires.

A pretty ſtory.

You remember (I doubt not) the ſtory of him, that offered his Prince a great yearely rent, to have but this favour onely, that hee might come every day in open audience, and ſay in his eare, God ſave your Majeſtie, aſſuring himſelfe, that by the opinion of confidence and ſecret favour, which hereby the people would conceive to bee in the Prince towards him, hee ſhould eaſily get up his rent againe double told. Wherefore, my Lord of *Leyceſter* receiving dayly from her Majeſtie greater tokens of grace and favour then this, and himſelfe being no evill marchant, to make his owne bargaine for the beſt of his commodities: cannot but gaine exceedingly at home by his favour.

Leyceſters forraine gain by her Majeſties favour.

And for his Lucre abroad upon the ſame cauſe, I leave to other men to conceive, what it may bee, ſithence the beginning of her Majeſties raigne, the times whereof and condition of all Chriſtendome hath beene ſuch, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have beene conſtrained at one time or other, to ſue to her higneſſe for ayd, grace, or favour: in all which ſutes, men uſe not to forget (as you know) the parties moſt able by their credite, to further or let the ſame.

In particular onely this I can ſay, that I have heard of ſundry French-men, that at ſuch time, as the treaty was betweene *France* and *England*, for the re-delivery of *Calis* unto us againe, in the firſt yeare of her Majeſties raigne that now is, when the French-men were in great diſtreſſe and miſery, and King *Philip* refuſed abſolutely to make peace with them, except *Calis* were reſtored to *England* (whether for that purpoſe hee had now delivered the French hoſtages:)

the

the French-men doe report (I say) that my Lord of *Leycester* stood them in great stead at that necessity, for his reward, (which you may well imagine was not small, for a thing of such importance,) and became a suter, that peace might bee concluded, with the release of *Calis* to the French: which was one of the most impious facts (to say the truth,) that ever could bee devised against his Commonwealth.

Leycesters bribe for betraying of *Callis*.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman) for in this hee did no more, but as Christ said of the Jewes: that they filled up the measure of their Fathers sinnes. And so if you read the story of King *Edwards* time, you shall find it most evident, that this mans Father before him, sould *Bulleigne* to the French by like treachery. For it was delivered up upon composition, without necessity or reason, the five and twenty of *April*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* the sixt, when hee (I meane Duke *Dudley*) had now put in the Tower the Lord Protectour, and thrust out of the Councell whom hee listed: as namely the Earles of *Arundell* and *Southampton*, and so invaded the whole government himselfe, to sell, spoile and dispose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but naturall to my Lord of *Leycester* by discent, to make marchandize of the state, for his Grandfather *Edmund* also, was such a kind of *Copesman*.

Gentleman.

Leycesters Father sould *Bulleigne*.

Earles of *Arundel* and *Southampton* put out of the Councell by D. *Dudley*.

An evill race of Marchants for the Commonwealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray you (said hee) expound unto mee somewhat more at large, the nature of these licences which you named, as also the changing of lands with her Majesty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they seeme, to bee things of excessive gaine: especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or by her highnesse offence towards.

Lawyer.

wards him, for it seemeth to bee a device above all skill or reason.

Leycesters gaine by falling out with her Majesty.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out must have an attonement againe, whereat hee being sure by the many and puisant meanes of his friends in Court, as I have shewed before, who shall not give her Majesty rest untill it bee done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some suite or other, which hee will have alwayes ready provided for that purpose, and this suite shall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconcilement, and leave also a good remainder for himselfe. And this is now so ordinary a practize with him, as all the Realm obserueth the same, and disdaigneth that her Majesty should bee so unworthily abused. For if her highnesse fall not out with him as often as hee desireth to gaine this way, then hee picketh some quarrell or other, to shew himselfe discontented with her, so that one way or other, this gainefull reconciliation must bee made, and that often for his commodity. The like art hee exerciseth in inviting her Majesty to his banquettes and to his houses, where if she come, shee must grant him in suites, ten times so much as the charges of all amount unto: so that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majestie every way.

Gentleman.

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have beene reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further dealing therein, to bee in this sort. Besides the good lands and of ancient possession to the Crowne, procured at her Majesties hands, and vsed as before was declared; hee vseth the same trick for his worst lands, that hee pos-

sesseth

ſeſſeth any way, whether they come to him, by extort meanes and plaine oppreſſion, or through maintenance & broken titles, or by couſenage of ſimple Gentlemen, to make him their heire; or by what hard title or unhoneſt meanes ſo ever, (for hee practizeth ſtore of ſuch and thinketh little of the reckoning:) after hee hath tried them likewiſe to the uttermoſt touch, and letten them out to ſuch as ſhall gaine but little by the bargaine: then goeth hee and changeth the ſame with her Majeſty for the beſt lands hee can pick out of the Crowne, to the end that hereby hee may both enforce her Majeſty to the defence of his bad titles, and himſelfe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermoſt commodity of both the lands.

Leyceſters frandulent change of lands with her Majeſty whereby hee hath notably endammaged the Crowne.

His licences doe ſtand thus: firſt hee got licence for certaine great numbers of cloaths, to bee tranſported out of this land, which might have beene an undoing to the Marchant ſubject, if they had not redeemed the ſame with great ſummes of money: ſo that it redounded to great dammage of all occupied about that kind of commodity. After that hee had the grant for carrying over of barrell ſtaves and of ſome other ſuch like wares. Then procured hee a Monopolie, for bringing in of ſweet wines, oyles, currants and the like: the gaine whereof is ineſtimable. Hee had alſo the forfeit of all wine that was to bee drawne above the old ordinary price, with licence to give authority to ſell above that price: wherein Captaine *Horſey* was his inſtrument, by which meanes it is incredible what treaſure and yearely rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the land.

Leyceſters licenſes.

To this adde now his licence of ſilkes and velvets, which onely were enough to enrich the Major and Aldermen of *London*, if they were all decayed

Silkes and Velvets.

(as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme.) And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as in part I have opened before) serveth him not onely to excessive gaine, but also for an extreame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he pleaseth in the Realm. For seeing that without this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, any land that any wayes may bee drawne to that tenure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince: (as commonly now most land may) hee calleth into question whatsoever liketh him best, bee it never so cleare: and under this colour, not onely enricheth himselfe without all measure, but revengeth himselfe also, where hee will, without all order.

The Tyrannicall licence of alienation.

Lawyer. Heare the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting his lip, as hee were astonished, and then said; Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant things, or so odious, of any man that ever lived in our Common-wealth. And I marvaile much of my Lord of *Leycester*, that his Grandfathers fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head in the beginning of King *Henry* the eights dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kind, committed in the time of King *Henry* the seventh: for hee was thought to bee the inventour of these poolings and molestations, wherewith the people were burthened, in the latter dayes of the said King. And yet had hee great pretence of reason to alleaged for himselfe: in that these exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his owne gaine was also there. Master *Stow* writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, hee wrote a notable booke, intituled *The tree of Common wealth*, which booke, the said *Stow* saith, that hee hath delivered to my Lord of *Leycester* many yeares agone.

Edmund Dudley.

Edmund Dudleis booke written in the Tower.

And

And if the ſaid booke bee ſo notable as Maſter *Stow* affirmeth: I marvaile, that his Lord in ſo many yeares, doth not publiſh the ſame, for the glory of his anceſtors?

Gentleman. It may bee (ſaid the Gentleman) that the ſecrets therein contained, bee ſuch, as it ſeemeth good to my Lord, to uſe them onely himſelfe, and to gather the fruit of that tree into his owne houſe alone. For if the tree of the Common-wealth in *Edmund Dudleis* booke, bee the Prince and his race: and the fruits to bee gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: ſo have his two followers, *John* and *Robert*, well ſtudied and practized the ſame, or rather have, exceeded and farre paſſed the authour himſelfe. The one of them gathering ſo eagarly, and with ſuch vehemency, as hee was like to have broken downe the maine boughes for greedineſſe: the other yet plucking and heaping ſo faſt to himſelfe and his friends, as it is and may bee, moſt juſtly doubted, that when they have cropped all they can, from the tree left them by their Father *Edmund* (I meane the race of King *Henry* the ſeventh:) then will they pluck up the Stemme it ſelfe by the rootes, as unprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunke, (that is the line of *Huntington*) that may begin to feed a new, with freſh fruits againe, and ſo for a time content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may become trees, (which is their finall purpoſe) to feed themſelves at their owne diſcretion.

The ſupplanting of the race of *Henry* the 7. The inſerting of *Huntington*.

And howſoever this bee, it cannot bee denied, but that *Edmund Dudleis* brood, have learned by this booke, and by other meanes, to bee more cunning gatherers, then ever their firſt progenitor was, that made the booke. Firſt for that hee made profeſſion to gather

Edmund Dudleis broode more cunning then himſelfe.

ther to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men make demonstration, that they have gathered for themselves: and that with much more iniquity. Secondly, for that *Edmund Dudley* though hee got himselfe neare about the tree, yet was hee content to stand on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree, as commodity was offered; but his children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the tree, to pull, croppe, and riffle at their pleasure. And as in this second point the Sonne *John Dudley* was more subtile, then *Edmund* the Father: so in a third point, the Nephew *Robert Dudley* is more crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evill successe of those two that went before him, hee hath provided together so much in convenient time, and to make himselfe therewith so fat and strong, (wherein the other two failed) as hee will never bee in danger more, to bee called to any accompt for the same.

Northumberland and *Leycester* with their Prince will not bee ruled.

Lawyer. In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer) I thanke you heartily, for this pleasant discourse upon *Edmund Dudleis* tree of Common-wealth. And by your opinion, my Lord of *Leycester* is the most learned of all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner indeed, that can draw for himselfe so commodious conclusions, out of the perillous premisses of his progenitors.

Gentleman. No marvaile (quoth the Gentleman) for that his L, is Master of Art in *Oxford*, and Chancelour besides of the same Vniversity, where hee hath store (as you know) of many fine wits and good Logitioners at his commandement: and where hee learneth not onely the rules and art of cunning gathering: but also the very practize (as I have touched before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other thing

Leycester Master of art and a cunning Logitioner.

thing of commodity within that place, where hence hee hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly to bee gathered, either by art or violence.

Touching *Oxford* (said I) for that I am an Vniversity man my selfe, and have both experience of *Cambridge*, and good acquaintance with divers students of the other Vniversity: I can tell you enough, but in fine all tendeth to this conclusion, that by his Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of good in that Vniuersity: and by his protection, it is like soone to come to destruction. And surely if there were no other thing, to declare the oddes and difference betwixt him, and our Chancellour, (whom hee cannot beare, for that every way hee seeth him, to passe him in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two Vniversities, whereof they are heads and governours.

Scholler.

Leycesters abusing and spoiling of Oxford.

The Lord Treasurer.

For our owne, I will not say much, lest I might perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speake for it selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners diligence. Looke upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of *England*, and see whence principally they have received their furniture for advancement of the Gospell. And on the contrary side, looke upon the Seminaries of Papistry at *Rome* and *Rhems*, upon the Colledges of Jesuists, and other companies of Papists beyond the seas, and see where-hence they are, especially, fraught.

Cambridge.

The Priests and Jesuists here executed within the land, and other that remaine either in prison, or abroad in corners: are they not all (in a manner) of that Vniversity? I speake not to the disgrace of any good that remaine there, or that have issued out thence into the Lords Vineyard: but for the most part

there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the ſeas, or left their places for diſcontentment in Religion, or els become ſerving men, or followed the bare name of Law or Phyſick, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the ſervice of Gods Church or their Common-wealth?

The diſorders of *Oxford* by the wickednesse of their Chancellours.

And where-hence (I pray you) enſueth all this, but by reaſon that the chiefe Governour thereof is an Atheiſt himſelfe, and uſeth the place onely for gaine and ſpoile? for here-hence it commeth, that all good order and diſcipline is diſſolved in that place, the fervour of ſtudy extinguiſhed: the publique Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more part:) the Tavernes and Ordinary-tables frequented: the apparell of ſtudents growne monſtuous: and the ſtatutes and good ordinance, both of the Vniverſity and of every Colledge and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleaſure, without reſpect either of oath, cuſtome, or reaſon to the contrary. The heads and officers are put in and out at his onely diſcretion: and the Schollars places either ſould, or diſpoſed by his letters, or by theſe of his ſervants and followers: nothing can bee had there, now, without preſent mony: it is as common buying and ſelling of places in that Vniverſity, as of horſes in *Smithfield*: whereby the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thruſt in, fit to ſerve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that ſhall occurre.

Leaſes.

And as for leaſes of farmes, Woods, Paſtures, Perſonages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the Vniverſity, to let or beſtow, theſe, his Lord and his Servants have ſo fleeſed, ſhorne, and ſcraped already, that there remaineth, little to feed upon hereafter: albeit hee want not ſtill his ſpies and intelligencers in the place, to advertiſe him from time

time to time, when any little new morſell is offered. And the Principall inſtruments, which for this purpoſe, hee hath had there before this, have beene two Phyſitians *Bayly* and *Culpeper*, both knowne Papiſts a little while agoe, but now juſt of Galens religion, and ſo much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his Lordſhip doth alwayes covet, to bee furniſhed with certaine choſen men about him, for divers affaires: as theſe two Galeniſts for agents in the Vniverſity: *Dee* and *Allen* (two Atheiſtes) for figuring and conjuring: *Iulio* the Italian and *Lopas* the Jew, for poiſoning, and for the art of deſtroying children in Womens bellies: *Vernois* for murdering: *Digbies* for * *Bawdes*: and the like in other occupations which his Lordſhip exerciſeth. *Leyceſters inſtruments.*

Wherefore to returne to the ſpeech where wee began: moſt cleare it is, that my Lord of *Leyceſter* hath meanes to gaine and gather alſo by the Vniverſity, as well as by the Country abroad. Wherein (as I am told) hee beareth himſelfe ſo abſolute a Lord, as if hee were their King, and not their Chancellour: Nay farre more then, if hee were the generall and particular founder of all the Colledges and other houſes of the Vniverſity: no man daring to contrary or interrupt the leaſt word or ſignification of his will, but with his extreame danger: which is a proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the Tyrant, or ſome Governour in *Tartary*, then for a Chancellour of a learned Vniverſity. * At *Digbies* houſe in *Warwickſhire* Dame *Lettice* lay, and ſome other ſuch peeces of pleaſure.

To this anſwered the Lawyer, for my Lords wrath, towards ſuch as will not ſtand to his judgement and opinion, I can my ſelfe bee a ſufficient witneſſe: who having had often occaſion to deale for compoſition of matters, betwixt his Lordſhip and others, have ſeene by experience, that alwayes they have ſped beſt, *Lawyer.*

beſt, who ſtood leſt in contention with him, whatſoever their cauſe were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is ſtopped or contraried, the more it riſeth and ſwelleth bigge, and in the end, dejecteth with more force the thing that made reſiſtance: ſo his Lordſhip being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accuſtomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee croſſed or reſiſted by any man, though it were in his owne neceſſary defence.

The perill of ſtanding with *Leyceſter* in any thing.

Hereof I have ſeene examples, in the cauſes of *Snowden* forreſt in *Wales*, of *Denbighe*, of *Killingworth*, of *Drayton* and others: where the parties that had intereſt, or thought themſelves wronged, had beene happy, if they had yeelded at the firſt to his Lordſhips pleaſure, without further queſtion: for then had they eſcaped much trouble, charges, diſpleaſure and vexation, which by reſiſtance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and * loſſe of life to ſome) and in the end were faine alſo to ſubmit themſelves unto his will, with farre worſe conditions, then in the beginning were offered unto them: which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet ſuch is my Lords diſpoſition.

* Poore men reſiſting *Warwicks* incloſure at North-hall were hanged for his pleaſure by *Leyceſters* authority.

Gentleman.

A noble diſpoſition (quoth the Gentleman,) that I muſt give him my Coat if hee demand the ſame, and that quickly alſo, for feare leaſt if I ſtaggar or make doubt thereof, hee compell mee to yeeld both coat and doublet, in penance of my ſtay. I have read of ſome ſuch Tyrants abroad in the World: Marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will bee alſo in this man, for that there is ſmall hope of his amendment, and God paſſeth not over commonly ſuch matters unpuniſhed in this life, as well as in the life to come.

Great Tyranny.

But

But I pray you Sir, ſeeing mention is now made of the former oppreſſions, ſo much talked of throughout the Realme, that you will take the paines, to explaine the ſubſtance thereof unto mee: for albeit in generall, every man doth know the ſame, and in heart doe deteſt the Tyranny thereof: yet wee abroad in the Countrey, doe not underſtand it ſo well and diſtinctly as you that bee Lawyers, who have ſeene and underſtood the whole proceſſe of the ſame.

Lawyer.

The caſe of *Killingworth* and *Denbigh*, (ſaid the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding, though different in time place and importance. For that the Lordſhip of *Denbigh* in North-wales, being given unto him by her Majeſty a great while agoe at the beginning of his riſing, (which is a Lordſhip of ſingular great importance, in that Countrey, having (as I have heard) well neere two hundred worſhipfull Gentlemen free-holders to the ſame:) the tenants of the place conſidering the preſent ſtate of things, and having learned, the hungry diſpoſition of their new Lord: made a common purſe of a thouſand pounds, to preſent him withall, at his firſt entrance. Which though hee received (as hee refuſeth nothing.) Yet accompted hee the ſumme of ſmall effect for ſatisfaction of his appetite: and therefore applied himſelfe, not onely to make the uttermoſt that hee could by leaſes, and ſuch like wayes of commodity: but alſo would needs enforce the free-holders, to raiſe their old rent of the Lordſhip, from two hundreth and fifty pounds a yeare or there abouts (at which rate hee had received the ſame in guiſt from her Majeſty,) unto eight or nine hundreth pounds by the yeare. For that hee had found out (forſooth) an old record, (as hee ſaid) whereby hee could prove,

The Lordſhip of *Denbigh* and *Leyceſters* oppreſſion uſed therein.

that in ancient time long paſt, that Lordſhip had yeelded ſo much old rent: and therefore hee would now enforce the preſent tenants, to make up ſo much againe upon their lands, which they thought was againſt all reaſon for them to doe: but my Lord perforce, would have it ſo, and in the end compelled them to yeeld to his will, to the impoveriſhing of all the whole Countrey about.

The manner of *Killingworth* and *Leyceſters* oppreſſion there.

The like proceeding hee uſed with the tenants about *Killingworth*, where hee receiving the ſaid Lordſhip and Caſtle from the Prince, in guift of twenty foure pounds yearely rent or there about, hath made it now better then five hundreth by yeare: by an old record alſo, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall as is given out (for hee hath, ſingular good luck alwayes in finding out records for his purpoſe) by vertue whereof, hee hath taken from the tenants, round about, their Lands, Woods, Paſtures, and Commons, to make him ſelfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therewith, to the ſubverſion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer ſet foot in that Countrey.

The caſe of *Snowden* foreſt moſt pittifull.

But the matter of *Snowden* Foreſt, doth paſſe all the reſt, both for cunning and cruelty: the tragedy whereof was this hee had learned by his intelligencers abroad, (whereof hee hath great ſtore in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Foreſt in *North-wales*, which hath almoſt infinite borderers about the ſame: for it lieth in the middeſt of the Countrey, beginning at the Hils of *Snowden* (whereof it hath his name) in *Carnarvan-ſhire*, and reacheth every way towards divers other ſhires. When my Lord heard of this, hee entered preſently into the conceit of a ſingular great pray: and going to her Majeſty, ſignified that her highneſſe was

often

often times abuſed, by the incroching of ſuch as dwelt upon her Foreſts, which was neceſſary to bee reſtrained: and therefore beſeeched her Majeſty, to beſtow upon him the incrochments onely, which hee ſhould bee able to find out, upon the foreſt of *Snowdon*, which was granted.

And thereupon hee choſe out Commiſſioners fit for the purpoſe, and ſent them into *Wales*, with the like commiſſion, as a certaine Emperour was wont to give his Magiſtrates, when they departed from him to governe, as *Suetonius* writeth: *Scitis quid velim, & quibus opus habeo.* You know what I would have, and what I have need of. Which recommendation, theſe Commiſſioners taking to heart, omitted no diligence in execution of the ſame: and ſo going into *Wales*, by ſuch meanes as they uſed, of ſetting one man to accuſe an other: brought quickly all the Countrey round about in three or foure ſhires, within the compaſſe of foreſt ground: and ſo entred upon the ſame, for my Lord of *Leyceſter*. Whereupon, when the people were amazed, and expected what order my Lord himſelfe would take therein: his Lord was ſo farre off from refuſing any part of that, which his Commiſſioners had preſented and offered him: as hee would yet further ſtretch the Foreſt beyond the Sea, into the Ile of *Angleſey*, and make that alſo within his compas and bounder.

An old Tyrannicall commiſſion.

A ridiculous demonſtration of exceſſive avarice.

Which when the commonalty ſaw, and that they profited nothing, by their complaining and crying out of this Tyranny: they appointed to ſend ſome certaine number of themſelves, to *London*, to make ſupplication to the Prince: and ſo they did: Chooſing out for that purpoſe a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of *Llin*, to deale for the whole. Who comming to *London* and

exhibiting a moſt humble ſupplication to her Majeſty for redreſſe of their oppreſſion: received an anſwere, by the procurement of my Lord of *Leyceſter*, that they ſhould have juſtice, if the commonalty would returne home to their houſes, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to ſollicite the cauſe. Which as ſoone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and caſt into priſon, and there kept for a great ſpace, and afterward were ſent downe to *Ludlow*, (as the place moſt eminent of all theſe Countries) there to weare papers of perjury, and receive other puniſhments of infamy, for their complaining: which puniſhments notwithſtanding, afterward upon great ſute of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were conſtrained to pay, and yet beſides to agree alſo with my Lord of *Leyceſter* for their owne lands, acknowledging the ſame to bee his, and ſo to buy it of him againe.

A ſingular oppreſſion.

Whereby not onely theſe private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey there about, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth ſo farre and wide, and is ſo generall in theſe parts: as you ſhall ſcarce find a man that commeth from that coaſt, who feeleth not the ſmart thereof: being either impoveriſhed, beggered, or ruinated thereby.

Leyceſter extreamely hated in *Wales*.

Whereby I aſſure you that the hatred of all that Countrey, is ſo univerſall and vehement againſt my Lord: as I thinke never thing created by God, was ſo odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leyceſter* is. Which his Lordſhip well knowing, I doubt not, but that hee will take heed, how hee goe thither to dwell, or ſend thither his poſterity.

Gentleman. For his poſterity (quoth the Gentleman) I ſuppoſe hee

hee hath little cauſe to bee ſolicitous: for that God himſelfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours ſo gotten and maintained, as his bee, ſhall never trouble the third heire. Marry for himſelfe, I confeſſe (the matter ſtanding as you ſay) that hee hath reaſon to forbeare that Countrey, and to leave of his building begunne at *Denbigh*, as I heare ſay hee hath done. For that the univerſall hatred of a people, is a perilous matter. And if I were in his Lordſhips caſe, I ſhould often thinke of the end of *Nero*: who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thruſt into a Pillory, and ſo to bee beaten to death, with rods and thonges.

The end of Tyrants.

Nero.

Or rather I ſhould feare the ſucceſſe of *Vitellius*, the third Emperour after *Nero*. who for his wickedneſſe and oppreſſion of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his palace naked, with hookes of Iron faſtened in his fleſh, and ſo drawne through the City with infamy, where, loden in the ſtreets with filth and ordure caſt upon him, and a prick put under his Chinne, to the end hee ſhould not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of *Tyber*, and thereafter many hundred wounds received, was caſt into the River. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once ſtirred, and hath place of revenge. And ſo heavy is the hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaſeth his divine Majeſty to take revenge of the ſame.

Vitellius.

I have read in *Leander*, in his deſcription of *Italy*, how that in *Spoleto* (if I bee not deceived) the chiefe City of the Countrey of *Vmbria*, there was a ſtrange Tyrant: who in the time of his proſperity, contemned all men, and forbare to injury no man, that came within his clawes: eſteeming himſelfe ſure enough, for

A moſt terrible revenge taken upon a Tyrant.

ever being called to render accompt in this life, and for the next hee cared little. But God upon the ſudden turned upſide downe the wheele of his felicity, and caſt him into the peoples hands: who tooke him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the market place, with a fire and iron tonges by him: and then made proclamation, that ſeeing this man was not otherwiſe able to make ſatisfaction, for the publique injuries that hee had done: every private perſon annoyed by him, ſhould come in order, and with the hoat burning tonges there ready, ſhould take of his fleſh ſo much, as was correſpondent to the injury receiued, as indeed they did untill the miſerable man gave up the ghoſt, and after to: as this authour writeth.

Leyceſters oppreſſion of particular men.

But to the purpoſe: ſeeing my Lord careth little for ſuch examples, and is become ſo hardy now, as hee maketh no accompt to injury and oppreſſe whole Countries and Commonalties together: it ſhall bee bootles to ſpeake of his proceedings towards particular men, who have not ſo great ſtrength to reſiſt, as a multitude hath. And yet I can aſſure you, that there are ſo many and ſo pittifull things publiſhed dayly of his Tyranny in this kind: as doe move great compaſſion towards the party that doe ſuffer, and horrour againſt him, who ſhameth not dayly to offer ſuch injury.

Maſter *Robinſon.*

As for example: whoſe heart would not bleed to heare the caſe before mentioned, of Maſter *Robinſon* of *Staffordſhire:* a proper yong Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and other vertues. Whoſe Father died at *Newhaven* in her Majeſties ſervice, under this mans brother the Earle of *Warwick:* and recommended at his death, this his eldeſt Sonne, to the ſpeciall protection of *Leyceſter* and his Brother, whoſe

ſervant

ſervant alſo this *Robinſon* hath beene, from his youth upward, and ſpent the moſt of his living in his ſervice. Yet notwithſtanding all this, when *Robinſons* lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon intereſt for his former maintenance in their ſervice, whoſe title my Lord of *Leyceſter* (though craftily, yet not covertly) under *Ferris* his cloak, had gotten to himſelfe: hee ceaſed not to purſue the poore Gentleman even to impriſonment, arraignment, and ſentence of death, for greedines of the ſaid living: together with the vexation of his brother in law Maſter *Harcourt* and all other his friends, upon pretence, forſooth, that there was a man ſlaine by *Robinſons* party, in defence of his owne poſſeſſion againſt *Leyceſters* intruders, that would by violence breake into the ſame. Maſter *Harcourt.*

What ſhall I ſpeake of others, whereof there would bee no end? as of his dealing with Maſter *Richard Lee*, for his Manor of *Hooknorton* (if I faile not in the name:) with Maſter *Ludowick Grivell*, by ſeeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with *George Witney*, in the behalfe of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for inforcing him to forgoe the Controllerſhip of *Woodſtock*, which hee holdeth by patent from King *Henry* the ſeventh? With my Lord *Barckley*, whom hee enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother *Warwick*, which his anceſtors had held quietly for almoſt two hundreth yeares together? Maſter *Richard Lee.* *Ludowick Grivell.* *George Witney.* Lord *Barkley.*

What ſhall I ſay of his intollerable Tyranny upon the laſt Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for Doctor *Julio* his ſake, and that in ſo fowle a matter? Vpon Sir *John Throgmarton*, whom hee brought pittifully to his grave before his time, by continuall vexations, for a peece of faithfull ſervice done by him to his Countrey, and to Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* Sir *John Throgmarton.*

all

all the line of King *Henry*, against this mans Father, in King *Edward* and Queene *Maries* dayes? Vpon divers of the *Lanes* for one mans sake of that name before mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth-Castle*? upon some of the *Giffords*, and other for *Throgmartons* sake? (for that is also his Lords disposition, for one mans cause whom hee brooketh not, to plague a whole generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allied to the same:) his endlesse persecuting of Sir *Drew Drewry*, and many other Courtiers both men and women? All these (I say) and many others, who dayly suffer injuries, rapines and oppressions at his hands, throughout the Realme, what should it availe to name them in this place: seeing neither his Lord careth any thing for the same, neither the parties agrieved are like to attaine any least release of affliction thereby, but rather double oppression for their complaining.

Lane.

Gifford.

Sir Drew Drewry.

The present state of my Lord of Leycester.

Wherefore, to returne againe whereas wee began, you see by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of man, my Lord of *Leycester* is this day, in the state of *England*. You see and may gather, in some part, by that which hath beene spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition. His Wealth is excessive in all kind of riches for a private man, and must needs bee much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite wayes hee hath had of gaine, so many yeares together. His Strength and power is absolute and irresistable, as hath beene shewed, both in Chamber, Court, Councell, and Countrey. His Cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Contermines, by Trenches, Bulwarkes, Flankers, and Rampiers: by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures, and Dependents, or any other that may serve his

Leycesters Wealth.

Leycesters Strength.

Leycesters Cunning.

his turne: is very rare and ſingular. His Diſpoſition to Cruelty, Murder, Treaſon, and Tyranny: and by all theſe to Supreame Soveraignty over other: is moſt evident and cleare. And then judge you whether her Majeſty that now raigneth (whoſe life and proſperity, the Lord in mercy long preſerve,) have not juſt cauſe to feare, in reſpect of theſe things onely: if there were no other particulars to prove his aſpiring intent beſides? *Leyceſters diſpoſition.*

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but theſe are great matters, in the queſtion of ſuch a cauſe as is a Crowne. And wee have ſeene by example, that the leaſt of theſe foure, which you have here named, or rather ſome little branch contained in any of them, hath beene ſufficient to found juſt ſuſpition, diſtruſt or jealouſie, in the heads of moſt wiſe Princes, towards the proceedings of more aſſured ſubjects, then my Lord of *Leyceſter*, in reaſon may bee preſumed to bee. For that the ſafety of a ſtate and Prince, ſtandeth not onely in the readines and hability of reſiſting open attempts, when they ſhall fall out: but alſo (and that much more as Statiſtes write) in a certaine provident watchfulneſſe, of preventing all poſſibilities and likelihoods of danger of ſurpreſſion: for that no Prince commonly, will put himſelfe to the courteſie of an other man (bee hee never ſo obliged) whether hee ſhall retaine his Crowne or no: ſeeing the cauſe of a Kingdome, acknowledgeth neither kindred, duty, faith, friendſhip, nor ſociety. *Lawyer.* *Cauſes of juſt feare for her Majeſty.*

I know not whether I doe expound or declare my ſelfe well or no, but my meaning is, that whereas, every Prince hath two points of aſſurance from his ſubject, the one, in that hee is faithfull and lacketh will, to annoie his ſoveraigne: the other, for that hee

A poinct of necessary policy for a Prince.

is weake and wanteth ability, to doe the same: the first is alwayes of more importance then the second, and consequently more to bee eyed and observed in policy: for that our will may bee changed at our pleasure, but not our ability.

Considering then, upon that which hath beene said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Leycester*, hath possessed himselfe of all the strength, powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all to his owne direction, and hath made his party so strong as it seemeth not resistable: you have great reason to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt, for that if his will were according to his power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Schollar. Say not so, good Sir, (quoth I) for in such a case truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is so many wayes apparant, to bee most insatiable of ambition. Rather would I thinke that as yet his ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or some other circumstance: then that any part of good will should want in him: seeing that not onely his desire of soveraignty, but also his intent and attempt to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my conceit) by the very particulars of his power and plots already set downe. Which, If you please to have the patience, to heare a Schollars argument, I will prove by a Principle of our Philosophy.

A philosophicall argument to prove *Leycesters* intent of soveraignty.

For if it bee true which *Aristotle* sayeth, there is no agent so simple in the World, which worketh not for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein:) and not onely this, but also that the same agent, doth alwayes frame his worke according to the proportion of his intended ends: (as when the Fox or Badger maketh

maketh a wide earth or denne, it is a signe that hee meaneth to draw thither great store of pray:) then must wee also in reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent, as is my Lord of *Leycester* for himselfe, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his: I meane an end proportionable in greatnesse to his preparations. Which end, can bee no lesse nor meaner then Supreame Soveraignty, seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

The preparations of *Leycester* declare his intended end.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of the Princes person? his taking up the wayes and passages about her? his insolency in Court? his singularity in the Councell? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his Complices? the banding of his faction, with the abundance of friends every where? what doe these things signifie (I say) and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before: but onely his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in times past in his Father, but even that which now they portend in the Sonne? Or how should wee thinke, that the Sonne hath an other meaning in the very same actions, then had his Father before him, whose steps hee followeth.

How the Duke of *Northumberland* dissembled his end.

I remember I have heard, often times of divers ancient and grave men in *Cambridge*, how that in King *Edwards* dayes the Duke of *Northumberland* this mans Father, was generally suspected of all men, to meane indeed as afterward hee shewed, especially when hee had once joyned with the house of *Suffolke*, and made himselfe a principall of that faction by marriage. But yet for that hee was potent, and protested every where, and by all occasions his great love, duty, and speciall care, above all others, that hee bare to-

wards his Prince and Countrey: no man durſt accuſe him openly, untill it was to late to withſtand his power: (as commonly it falleth out in ſuch affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of *Leycesters* actions now (albeit to her Majeſty; I doubt not, but that hee will pretend and proteſt, as his Father did to her Brother,) eſpecially now after his open aſſociation with the faction of *Huntington*: which no leſſe impugneth under this mans protection, the whole line of *Henry* the ſeventh for right of the Crowne, then the Houſe of *Suffolke* did under his Father the particular progeny of King *Henry* the eight.

Gentleman. Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King *Edwards* raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithſtanding) that the Houſe of *Suffolke* durſt ever make open claime to the next ſucceſſion But now the Houſe of *Haſtings* is become ſo confident, upon the ſtrength and favour of their fauors, as they dare both plot, practiſe and pretend, all at once, and feare not to ſet out their title, in every place, where as they come.

The boldnes of the title s of Clarence.

Lawyer. And doe they not feare the ſtatute (ſaid the Lawyer) ſo rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treaſon to determine of titles?

Gentleman. No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) ſeeing their party is ſo ſtrong and terrible, as no man dare accuſe them: ſeeing alſo they well know, that the procurement of that ſtatute, was onely to endanger or ſtop the mouths of the true Succeſſours, whiles themſelves, in the meane ſpace, went about under-hand, to eſtabliſh their owne ambuſhment.

The abuſe of the ſtatute for ſilence in the true ſucceſſion.

Lawyer. Well, (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntington* to the Crowne, I will not ſtand with you, for that it is a matter ſufficiently knowne and ſeene throughout the Realme. As alſo that my

Lord

Lord of *Leycester* is at this day, a principall favourer and patron of that cause, albeit some yeares past, hee were an earnest adversary and enemy to the same. But yet I have heard some friends of his, in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two, which you have touched here, and doe seeme to believe the same.

Two excuses alleadged by Leycesters friends.

And that is, first, that howsoever my Lord of *Leycester* doe meane to helpe his friend, when time shall serve, yet pretendeth hee nothing to the Crowne himselfe. The second is, that whatsoever may bee ment for the title, or compassing the Crowne after her Majesties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigne. And of both these points they alledge reasons.

As for the first, that my Lord of *Leycester* is very well knowne, to have no title to the Crowne himselfe, either by discent in bloud, alliance or otherwayes. For the second, that his Lord hath no cause to bee a Male-content in the present government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of *Huntington* were King to morow next, then hee receiveth now at her Majesties hands: having all the Realme (as hath beene shewed) at his owne disposition.

Gentleman.

Whether Leycester meane the Crowne sincerely for Huntington or for himselfe.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether hee meane the Crowne for himselfe, or for his friend, it importeth not much: seeing both wayes it is evident, that hee meaneth to have all at his owne disposition. And albeit now for the avoiding of envy, hee give it out, as a crafty Fox, that hee meaneth not but to runne with other men, and to hunt with *Huntington* and other hounds in the same chase: yet is it not unlike, but that hee will play the Beare, when hee commeth to deviding of the pray, and will snatch the best part to himselfe. Yea and these selfe same per-

ſons of his traine and faction, whom you call his friends, though in publique, to excuſe his doings, and to cover the whole plot, they will and muſt deny the matters to be ſo meant: yet otherwiſe they both thinke, hope and know the contrary, and will not ſtick in ſecret to ſpeake it, and among themſelves, it is their talke of conſolation.

The words of the Lord *North*, to Maſter *Pooly*.

The words of his ſpeciall Councellour the Lord *North*, are knowne, which hee uttered to his truſty *Pooly*, upon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Majeſties diſpleaſure towards him, for his being a witneſſe at *Leyceſters* ſecond marriage with Dame *Lettice* (although I know hee was not ignorant of the firſt) at *Wanſtead*: of which diſpleaſure, this Lord making far leſſe accompt then, in reaſon hee ſhould, of the juſt offence of his ſoveraigne, ſaid: that for his owne part hee was reſolved to ſinke or ſwimme with my Lord of *Leyceſter*: who (ſaith hee) if once the Card's may come to ſhuffling (I will uſe but his very owne words) I make no doubt but hee alone ſhall beare away the Bucklers.

Pooly told this to Sir *Robert Iermine*.

The words of Sir *Thomas Layton* brother in law to my Lord.

The words alſo of Sir *Thomas Layton*, to Sir *Henry Nevile*, walking upon the *Terreſſe* at *Windſor* are knowne, who told him, after long diſcourſe of their happy conceived Kingdome, that hee doubted not, but to ſee him one day, hold the ſame office in *Windſor*, of my Lord of *Leyceſter*, which now my Lord did hold of the Queene. Meaning thereby the goodly office of Conſtableſhip, with all Royalties and honours belonging to the ſame, which now the ſaid Sir *Henry* exerciſeth onely as Deputy to the Earle. Which was plainely to ſignifie, that, hee doubted not but to ſee my Lord of *Leyceſter* one day King, or els his other hope could never poſſibly take effect or come to paſſe.

To the ſame point, tended the words of Miſtreſſe *Anne Weſt* Dame *Lettice* Siſter, unto the Lady *Anne Askew* in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother *Robert Knowles* had danced diſgratiouſly and ſcornefully before the Queene in preſence of the *French*. Which thing for that her Majeſty tooke to proceed of will in him, as for diſlike of the ſtrangers in preſence, and for the quarrell of his Siſter *Eſſex*: it pleaſed her highneſſe to check him for the ſame, with addition of a reproachfull word or two (full well deſerved) as though done for diſpite of the forced abſence, from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his Siſter. Which words, the other yonger twigge receiving in deepe dudgen, brake forth in great choler to her fore-named companion, and ſaid, that ſhee nothing doubted, but that one day ſhee ſhould ſee her Siſter, upon whom the Queene railed now ſo much (for ſo it pleaſed her to tearme her Majeſties ſharp ſpeech) to ſit in her place and throne, being much worthier of the ſame, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull ſpeech, albeit, it were over heard and condemned of divers that ſat about them: yet none durſt ever report the ſame to her Majeſty; as I have heard ſundry Courtiers affirme, in reſpect of the revenge which the reporters ſhould abide at my Lord of *Leycesters* hands, when ſo ever the matter ſhould come to light.

The words of Miſtreſſe *Anne Weſt* ſiſter unto this holy Counteſſe.

And this is now concerning the opinion and ſecret ſpeechs of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceipt and judgement in time and place convenient, whatſoever they are willed to give out publikely to the contrary, for deceiving of ſuch as will believe faire painted words,

againſt

againſt evident and manifeſt demonſtration of reaſon.

Three arguments of *Leyceſters* meaning for himſelfe before *Huntington.*

I ſay reaſon, for that if none of theſe ſignes and tokens were, none of theſe preparations nor any of theſe ſpeeches and detections, by his friends that know his heart: yet in force of plaine reaſon, I could alleadge unto you three arguments onely, which to any man of intelligence, would eaſily perſwade and give ſatisfaction, that my Lord of *Leyceſter* meaneth beſt and firſt for himſelfe in this ſute. Which three arguments, for that you ſeeme to bee attent. I will not ſtick to runne over in all brevity.

The firſt argument the Nature of ambition.

And the firſt, is the very nature and quality of ambition it ſelfe, which is ſuch, (as you know) that it never ſtayeth, but paſſeth from degree to degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it covereth, and the more eſteemeth it ſelfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now wee handle, even as in-wooing, hee that ſueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her good will, entereth eaſily into conceipt of his owne worthines thereby, and ſo commonly into hope of ſpeeding himſelfe, while hee ſpeaketh for his friend: ſo much more in Kingdomes: hee that ſeeth himſelfe of power to put the Crowne of an other mans head, will quickly ſtep to the next degree which is, to ſet it of his owne, ſeeing that alwayes the charity of ſuch good men, is wont to bee ſo orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with it ſelfe firſt.

Adde to this, that ambition is jealous, ſuſpitious, and fearefull of it ſelfe, eſpecially when it is joyned with a conſcience loaden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof hee would bee loth to bee called to accompt, or bee ſubject to any man that might by authority take review of his life and actions, when it

ſhould

ſhould pleaſe him. In which kind, ſeeing my Lord of *Leycester* hath ſo much to encreaſe his feare, as before hath beene ſhewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himſelfe to an other mans courteſie, for paſſing his audict in particular reckonings, which hee can no way anſwer or ſatisfie: but rather will ſtand upon the groſſe Summe, and generall *Quietus eſt*, by making himſelfe chiefe Auditour and Matter of all accompts for his owne part in this life, howſoever hee doe in the next: whereof ſuch humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it ſelfe.

The ſecond argument may bee taken from my Lords particular diſpoſition: which is ſuch, as may give much light alſo to the matter in queſtion: being a diſpoſition ſo well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath beene tampering about the ſame, from the firſt day that hee came in favour. Firſt by ſeeking openly to marry with the Queenes Majeſty herſelfe, and ſo to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his poſterity. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath beene ſhewed before, how that hee was privily contracted to her Majeſty (wherein as I told you his dealing before for ſatisfaction of a ſtranger, ſo let him with ſhame and diſhonour remember now alſo, the ſpectacle hee ſecretly made for the perſwading of a ſubject and Councellour of great honour in the ſame cauſe) to the end that if her highneſſe ſhould by any way have miſcarried, then hee might have entituled any one of his owne brood, (whereof hee hath ſtore in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull ſucceſſion of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and ſecret marriage, pretending the ſame to bee by her Majeſty: wherein hee will want no witneſſes to depoſe what

The ſecond argument. *Leyceſters* particular diſpoſition.

Leyceſters diſpoſition to tamper for a Kingdome.

I meane the noble old Earle of *Pembrooke*.

The undutifull deviſe of Naturall iſſue, in the ſtatute of ſucceſſion.

hee will. Thirdly, when hee ſaw alſo that this deviſe was ſubject to danger, for that his privy contract might bee denied, more eaſily, then hee able juſtly to prove the ſame, after her Majeſties diſceaſe: hee had a new fetch to ſtrengthen the matter and that was to cauſe theſe words of (*Naturall iſſue*) to bee put into the ſtatute of ſucceſſion for the Crowne, againſt all order and cuſtome of our Realme, and againſt the knowne common ſtile of law, accuſtomed to bee uſed in ſtatutes of ſuch matter: whereby hee might bee able after the death of her Majeſty to make legitimate to the Crowne, any one baſtard of his owne by any of ſo many hacknies as he keepeth, affirming it to bee the *Naturall iſſue* of her Majeſty by himſelfe. For no other reaſon can bee imagined why the ancient uſuall words of, *Lawfull iſſue* ſhould ſo cunningly bee changed into *Naturall iſſue*; Thereby not onely to indanger our whole Realme with new quarrels of ſucceſſion but alſo to touch (as farre as in him lieth) the Royall honour of his ſoveraigne, who hath beene to him but to bountifull a Princeſſe.

Fourthly, when after a time theſe fetches and deviſes, began to bee diſcovered, hee changed ſtreight his courſe, and turned to the Papiſts and Scottiſh faction, pretending the marriage of the Queene in priſon. But yet after this againe, finding therein not ſuch ſucceſſe as contented him throughly, and having in the meane ſpace a new occaſion offered of baite: hee betooke himſelfe fiftly to the party of *Huntington*: having therein (no doubt) as good meaning to himſelfe, as his Father had by joyning with *Suffolke*. Marry yet of late, hee hath caſt a new about, once againe, for himſelfe in ſecret, by treating the marriage of yong *Arbella*, with his Sonne intitled the Lord *Denbigh*.

The marriage of *Arbella*.

So

So that by this wee ſee the diſpoſition of this man bent wholly to a ſcepter. And albeit in right, title and diſcent of bloud (as you ſay) hee can juſtly claime neither Kingdome nor Cotage (conſidering either the baſeneſſe or diſloyalty of his Anceſtours:) if in reſpect of his preſent ſtate and power, and of his naturall pride, ambition, and crafty conveyance received from his Father: hee hath learned how to put himſelfe firſt in poſſeſſion of chiefe rule, under other pretences, and after to deviſe upon the title at his leaſure.

But now to come to the third argument: I ſay more and above all this, that the nature and ſtate of the matter it ſelfe, permitteth not that my Lord of *Leyceſter* ſhould meane ſincerely the Crowne, for *Huntington*, eſpecially ſeeing there hath paſſed betweene them ſo many yeares of diſlike and enimity: which, albeit, for the time and preſent commodity, bee covered and preſſed downe: yet by reaſon and experience wee know, that afterward when they ſhall deale together againe in matters of importance, and when jealouſie ſhall bee joyned to other circumſtances of their actions: it is impoſſible that the former miſlike ſhould not breake out in farre higher degree, then ever before. The third argument. The nature of the cauſe it ſelfe.

As wee ſaw in the examples of the reconciliation, made betwixt this mans Father and *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, bearing rule under King *Edward* the ſixt: and betweene *Richard* of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, bearing rule in the time of King *Henry* the ſixt. Both which Dukes of *Somerſet*, after reconciliation with their old, crafty and ambitious enemies, were brought by the ſame to their deſtruction ſoone after. Whereof I doubt not, but my Lord of *Leyceſter* will take good heed, in joyning by reconciliation The nature of old reconciled enmity.

with *Huntington*, after ſo long a breach: and will not bee ſo improvident, as to make him his ſoveraigne, who now is but his dependent. Hee remembreth too well the ſucceſſe of the Lord *Stanley* who helped King *Henry* the ſeventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the ſame for *Richard* the third: of the Earle of *Warwick*, who ſet up King *Edward* the fourth: and of the three *Percies*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the fourth. All which Noble men upon occaſions that after fell out: were rewarded with death, by the ſelfe ſame Princes, whom they had preferred.

The reaſon of *Machavell*.

And that not without reaſon as Siegnior *Machavell* my Lords Councellour affirmeth. For that ſuch Princes, afterward can never give ſufficient ſatiſfaction to ſuch friends, for ſo great a benefit received. And conſequently, leaſt upon diſcontentment, they may chance doe as much for others againſt them, as they have done for them againſt others: the ſureſt way is, to recompence them, with ſuch a reward, as they ſhall never after bee able to complaine of.

The meaning of the Duke of *Northumberland* with *Suffolk*.

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of *Leyceſter* will put himſelfe in danger of the like ſucceſſe at *Huntingtons* hands: but rather will follow the plot of his owne Father, with the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to uſe for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himſelfe in ſupreame dignity, and afterward whatſoever had befallen of the ſtate, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if Queene *Mary* had not cut it off, King *Iohn* of *Northumberland*, would have done the ſame in time, and ſo all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his cunning dealings.

And

And what *Huntingtons* ſecret opinion of *Leyceſter* is (notwithſtanding this outward ſhew of dependence) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a ſpeciall man of that hally King, who was his Ledger or Agent in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his Maſters title, declared, that hee had heard him divers times in ſecret, complaine to his Lady, (*Leyceſters* Siſter) as greatly fearing that in the end, hee would offer him wrong, and pretend ſome title for himſelfe. *South-hous.*

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it ſeemeth by this laſt point, that theſe two Lords, are cunning practiſioners in the art of diſſimulation: but for the former whereof you ſpeake, in truth, I have heard men of good diſcourſe affirme, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had ſtrange deviſes in his head, for deceiving of *Suffolke* (who was nothing ſo fine as himſelfe,) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne family. And among other deviſes it is thought, that hee had moſt certaine intention to marry the Lady *Mary* himſelfe, (after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have beſtowed her Majeſty that now is upon ſome one of his children (if it ſhould have beene thought beſt to give her life,) and ſo conſequently to have ſhaken of *Suffolke* and his pedegree, with condigne puniſhment, for his bold behaviour in that behalfe. *Lawyer.* The meaning of the D. of *Northumberland* towards the D. of *Suffolke.*

Verily (quoth I) this had beene an excellent Stratageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himſelfe have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, ſeeing hee was at that time married to another? *Scholer.*

Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you queſtion like a Schollar. As though my Lord of *Leyceſter* had not a wife alive, when hee firſt began to pretend marriage *Gentleman.*

riage to the Queenes Majesty. Doe not you remember the story of King *Richard* the third, who at such time as hee thought best for the establishing of his title: to marry his owne Neece, that afterward was married to King *Henry* the seventh, how hee caused secretly to bee given abroad that his owne wife was dead, whom all the World knew to bee then alive and in good health, but yet soone afterward thee was seene dead indeed. These great personages, in matters of such weight, as is a Kingdome, have priviledges to dispose of Womens bodies, marriages, lives and deaths, as shall bee thought for the time most convenient.

The practise of King *Richard* for disparching his Wife.

And what doe you thinke (I pray you) of this new *Triumvirat* so lately concluded about *Arbella*? (for so I must call the same, though one of the three persons bee no *Vir*, but, *Virago*;) I meane of the marriage betweene yong *Denbigh* and the little Daughter of *Lenox*, whereby the father in law, the Grandmother and the Uncle of the new designed Queene, have conceited to themselves a singular triumphant raigne. But what doe you thinke may ensue hereof? is there nothing of the old plot of Duke *Iohn* of *Northumberland* in this?

A new Triumvirat betweene *Leycester*, *Talbot*, and the Countesse of *Shrewsbury*.

Lawyer. Marry Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) if this bee so: I dare assure you there is lequell enough pretended hereby. And first no doubt, but there goeth a deepe drift, by the wife and sonne, against old *Abraham* (the Husband and Father) with the well lined large pouch. And secondly, a farre deeper by trusty *Robert* against his best Mistresse: but deepest of all by the whole Crew, against the designements of the hasty Earle: who thirsteth a Kingdome, with great intemperance, and seemeth (if there were plaine dealing) to hope by these good people to quench shortly his drought.

Huntington.

But

But either part, in truth, ſeeketh to deceive others and therefore it is hard to ſay where the game in fine will reſt.

Well howſoever that bee (quoth the Gentleman) I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leyceſter*, will uſe both this practize and many more, for bringing the Scepter finally to his owne head: and that hee will not onely imploy *Huntington* to defeate *Scotland*, and *Arbella* to defeate *Huntington*: but alſo would uſe the marriage of the Queene impriſoned, to defeate them both, if ſhee were in his hand: and any one of all three to diſpoſſeſſe her Majeſty that now is: as alſo the authority, of all foure to bring it to himſelfe: with many other fetches, ſlinges and friſcoes beſides, which ſimple men as yet doe not conceive.

Gentleman.

The ſleights of *Leyceſter* for bringing all to himſelfe.

And howſoever theſe two conjoyned Earles, doe ſeeme for the time to draw together, and to play booty: yet am I, of opinion, that the one will beguile, the other at the upſhot. And *Haſtings* for ought I ſee, when hee commeth to the ſcambling, is like to have no better luck by the Beare, then his Anceſtour had once by the Boare. Who uſing his helpe firſt in murdering the Sonne and Heire of King *Henry* the ſixt, and after in deſtroying the faithfull Friends and Kinſmen of King *Edward* the fift, for his eaſier way to uſurpation: made an end of him alſo in the Tower, at the very ſame day and houre, that the other were by his counſell deſtroyed in *Pontfret Caſtle*. So that where the Goale and price of the game is a Kingdome: there is neither faith, neither good fellowſhip, nor faire play among the *Gamſters*. And this ſhall bee enough for the firſt point: (*viz.*) what good my Lord of *Leyceſter* meaneth to himſelfe in reſpect of *Huntington*.

Scambling betweene *Leyceſter* and *Huntington* at the upſhot.

Richard of *Glocceſter An*. 1. *Edw.* 5.

Touching the ſecond, whether the attempt bee pur-

2. That the conſpirators meane in her Majeſties dayes.

purpoſed in her Majeſties dayes or no, the matter is much leſſe doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine, what a torment the delay of a kingdome is, to ſuch a one as ſuffereth hunger thereof, and feareth that every houre may breed ſome alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee ſee often times that the child is impatient in this matter, to expect the naturall end of his parents life. Whom, notwithſtanding, by nature hee is enforced to love: and who alſo by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whoſe diſceaſe, hee is aſſured to obtaine his deſire: but moſt certaine of dangerous event, if hee attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which foure conſiderations, are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his deſire: albeit ſometimes not ſufficient to withſtand the greedy appetite of raigning.

Foure conſiderations.

But what ſhall wee thinke, where none of theſe foure conſiderations doe reſtraine? where the preſent Poſſeſſor is no parent? where ſhee is like by nature, to out-live the expector? whoſe death muſt needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterpriſe? and in whoſe life time, the matter is moſt eaſie to bee atchieved, under colour and authority of the preſent Poſſeſſor? ſhall wee thinke that in ſuch a caſe the ambitious man, will overrule his owne paſſion, and leeſe his commodity.

A thing worthy to be noted in ambitious men.

As for that, which is alleaged before, for my Lord in the reaſon of his Defenders: that his preſent ſtate is ſo proſperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatſoever ſhould bee: is of ſmall moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, whoſe eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which hee hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee poſſeſſeth, bee it never ſo good. Eſpecially

in

in matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, afflicteth more, then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke *Haman*, confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King *Assuerus*, after hee had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory and felicity to his friends, yet hee sayed, that all this was nothing unto him, untill hee could obtaine the revenge, which hee desired, upon *Mardocheus* his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority, are found the greatest store of Mal-contents, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey. Hiſtor. 5.

When the *Percies* tooke part with *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke*, against King *Richard* the second their lawfull soveraigne: it was not for lack of preferment: for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Worcester*, and *Stafford* together, besides many other offices and dignities of honour. The *Percies*.

In like sort, when the two *Neviles*, tooke upon them, to joyne with *Richard* of *Yorke*, to put downe their most benigne Prince King *Henry* the sixt: and after againe in the other side, to put downe King *Edward* the fourth: it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrels, of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward. The two *Neviles*.

If you say that these men hated their soveraigne, and that thereby they were led to procure his destruction: the same I may answere of my Lord living, *Leycesters* hatred to her Majesty.

though of all men hee hath leaſt cauſe ſo to doe. But yet ſuch is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth moſt, and diſdaineth to bee bound: there upon every little diſcontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

The evill nature of ingratitude.

This hee ſhewed evidently in the time of his little diſgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminiſh, vilipend, and debaſe among his friends, the ineſtimable benefites hee hath received from her Majeſty, but alſo uſed to exprobate his owne good ſervices and merits, and to touch her highneſſe with ingrate conſideration and recompence of the ſame, which behaviour together with his haſty preparation to rebellion, and aſſault of her Majeſties Royall perſon and dignity, upon ſo ſmall a cauſe given: did well ſhew what mind inwardly hee beareth to his ſoveraigne, and what her Majeſty may expect, if by offending him, ſhee ſhould once fall within the compaſſe of his furious pawes: ſeeing ſuch a ſmoke of diſdaine could not proceed, but from a firie furnace of hatred within.

Leyceſters ſpeeches of her Majeſty in the time of his diſgrace.

And ſurely it is a wonderfull matter to conſider what a little checke, or rather the bare imagination of a ſmall overthwart, may worke in a proud and diſdainefull ſtomack. The remembrance of his marriage miſſed, that hee ſo much pretended and deſired with her Majeſty doth ſtick deeply in his breaſt and ſtirreth him dayly to revenge. As alſo doth the diſdaine of certaine checkes and diſgraces received at ſometimes, eſpecially that of his laſt marriage: which irketh him ſo much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into, at that time, and did put his Widow in ſuch open phrenſie, as ſhee raged many moneths after againſt her Majeſty, and is not cold yet: but remaineth as it were a ſworne enemy.

The cauſes of hatred in *Leyceſter* towards her Majeſty.

enemy, for that injury, and ſtandeth like a friend of fury at the elbow of her *Amadis*, to ſtirre him forward when occaſion ſhall ſerve. And what effect ſuch female ſuggeſtions may worke, when they find an humour proud and pliable to their purpoſe: you may remember by the example of the Ducheſſe of *Somerſet*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head, of his onely deare Brother, to his owne evident deſtruction for her contentation.

The force of female ſuggeſtions.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without further diſpute or reaſon: ſaying there is ſo much diſcovered in the caſe as there is: ſo great deſire of raigne, ſo great impatience of delay, ſo great hope and hability of ſucceſſe, if it bee attempted, under the good fortune and preſent authority of the competitours: ſeeing the plats bee ſo well laid, the preparation ſo forward, the favorers ſo furniſhed, the time ſo propitious, and ſo many other cauſes conviting together: ſeeing that by differring, all may bee hazarded, and by haſtening, little can bee indangered, the ſtate and condition of things well weyed: finding alſo the bands of duty ſo broken already in the conſpiratours, the cauſes of miſlike and hatred ſo manifeſt, and the ſolicitours to execution, ſo potent and diligent, as women, malice, and ambition, are wont to bee: it is more then probable, that they will not leeſe their preſent commodity, eſpecially ſeeing they have learned by their Archi-tipe or Proto-plot which they follow (I meane the conſpiracy of *Northumberland* and *Suffolke* in King *Edwards* dayes) that herein there was ſome errour committed at that time, which overthrew the whole, and that was, the differring of ſome things untill after the Kings death, which ſhould have beene put in execution before.

An evident concluſion that the execution is meantintime of her Majeſty.

An errour of the Father now to bee corrected by the Sonne.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet

their designements were not published to the World, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused the yong Prince to die: no doubt, but in mans reason the whole designement had taken place: and consequently it is to bee presupposed, that these men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heed of falling into the like errour by delay: but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

Lawyer. It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) but that they have many helpes of doing what they list now, under the present a favour, countenance and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her highnesse discease: when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supreame obedience, by reason of the statute provided for uncertainty of the next successor: and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them, to make much of her Majesties life: for after that, they little know what may ensue, or befall their designements.

Gentleman. They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the second, as also of *Henry* and *Edward* the sixt, doe sufficiently fore-warne us: whose lives were prolonged, untill their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspiratours, and not longer. And for the statute you speake of, procured by themselves, for establishing the incertainty of the next true successour (whereas all our former statutes were wont to bee made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with *Proviso*, (as you know) that it shall not endure

Her Majesties life and death, to serve the conspiratours turne.

dure longer, then the life of her Majesty, that now raigneth: that is, indeed, no longer then untill themselves bee ready to place an other. For then, no doubt, but wee shall see a faire proclamation, that my Lord of *Huntington* is the onely next heire: with a bundle of halters to hang all such, as shall dare once open their mouth for deniall of the same.

A proclamation with halters.

At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as some what astonied, and began to make Crosses in the ayre, after their fashion, whereat wee laughed, and then hee said: truly my Masters I had thought that no man had conceived so evill imagination of this statute, as my selfe: but now I perceive that I alone am not malitious. For my owne part, I must confesse unto you, that as often as I read over this statute, or thinke of the same (as by divers occasions many times I doe) I feele my selfe much greeved and afflicted in mind, upon feares which I conceive what may bee the end of this statute to our Countrey, and what privy meaning, the chiefe procurers thereof might have for their owne drifts, against the Realme and life of her Majestie that now raigneth.

Lawyer.

Papisticall blessing.

The statute of concealing the heire apparant.

And so much more it maketh mee to doubt, for that in all our records of law, you shall not find (to my remembrance) any one example of such a devise, for concealing of the true inheritour: but rather in all ages, states, and times (especially from *Richard* the first downeward) you shall find statutes, ordinances, and provisions, for declaration and manifestation of the same, as you have well observed and touched before. And therefore this strange and new devise, must needs have some strange and unaccustomed meaning: and God of his mercy grant, that it have not some strange and unexpected event.

Richard going towards *Hierusalem* began the custome by Parliament, as *Polidore* noteth *Anno* 10. of *Richard* the second to declare the next heire.

The danger of our Countrey by concealing the next heire.

In sight of all men, this is already evident, that never Countrey in the World, was brought into more apparent danger of utter ruine, then ours is at this day, by pretence of this statute. For where as there is no Gentleman so meane in the Realme, that cannot give a gesse more or lesse, who shall bee his next heire, and his tenants soone conjecture, what manner of person shall bee their next Lord: in the title of our noble Crowne, whereof all the rest dependeth; neither is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall bee her next successor, nor her subjects allowed to understand or imagine, who in right may bee their future soveraigne: An intollerable injury in a matter of so singular importance.

Great inconveniences.

For (alas) what should become of this our native Countrey, if God should take from us her most excellent Majesty (as once hee will) and so leave us destitute upon the sudden what should become of our lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme or government? can any man promise himselfe, one day longer of rest, peace, possession, life or liberty within the land, then God shall lend us her Majesty to raigne over us? Which albeit, wee doe and are bound to wish that it may bee long: yet reason telleth us, that by course of Nature, it cannot bee of any great continuance, and by a thousand accidents it may bee much shorter. And shall then our most noble Commonwealth and Kingdome, which is of perpetuity, and must continue to our selves and our posterity, hang only upon the life of her highnesse alone, well strucken in yeares, and of no great good health or robustious and strong complexion.

Sir *Christopher Hatton's* oration.

I was within hearing some six or seven yeares agoe, when Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in a very great assembly, made an eloquent oration (which after I wene was

put

put in print) at the pardoning and delivery of him from the gallouſe, that by errour (as was thought) had diſcharged his peece upon her Majeſties Barge, and hurt certaine perſons in her highneſſe preſence. And in that oration hee declared and deſcribed very effectually, what ineſtimable dammage had enſued to the Realme, if her Majeſty by that or any other meanes ſhould have beene taken from us. Hee ſet forth moſt lively before the eyes of all men, what diviſion, what diſſenſion, what bloodſhed had enſued, and what fatall dangers were moſt certaine to fall upon us, whenſoever that dolefull day ſhould happen: wherein no man ſhould bee ſure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certaine whether to flie, whom to follow, or where to ſeeke repoſe and protection.

And as all the hearers there preſent did eaſily grant that hee therein ſaid truth and farre leſſe then might have beene ſaid in that behalfe, things ſtanding as they doe: ſo many one (I trow) that heard theſe words proceed from a Councellour, that had good cauſe to know the ſtate of his owne Countrey: entred into this cogitation what puniſhment they might deſerve then, at the whole State and Common-wealths hands, who firſt by letting her Majeſty from marriage, and then by procuring this ſtatute of diſſembling the next inheritour: had brought their Realme into ſo evident and inevitable dangers? for every one well conſidered and weighed with himſelfe, that the thing which yet onely letted theſe dangers and miſeries ſet downe by Sir *Chriſtopher*, muſt neceſſarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majeſty now preſent: and then (ſay wee) how falleth it out, that ſo generall a calamity as muſt needs overtake us ere it belong (and may, for any thing wee know to morrow next) is not provided for, as well as foreſeene. Is

Intollerable treaſons.

Is there no remedy, but that wee muſt willingly and wittingly runne into our owne ruine? and for the favour or feare of ſome few aſpirours, betray our Countrey and the bloud of ſo many thouſand innocents, as live within the land?

The miſeries to follow upon her Majeſties death.

For tell mee (good Sirs) I pray you, if her Majeſty ſhould die to morow next (whoſe life God long preſerve and bleſſe,) but if ſhee ſhould bee taken from us, (as by condition of nature and humane frailty ſhee may) what would you doe? which way would you looke? or what head or part, knew any good ſubject in the Realme to follow? I ſpeake not of the conſpiratours, for I know they will bee ready and reſolved whom to follow: but I ſpeake of the plaine, ſimple and well meaning ſubject, who following now the utter letter of this fraudulent ſtatute, (fraudulent I meane in the ſecret conceipt of the cunning aſpirours:) ſhall bee taken at that day upon the ſudden, and being put in a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crowne, ſhall bee brought into a thouſand dangers, both of body and goods, which now are not thought upon, by them who are moſt in danger of the ſame. And this is, for the Common-wealth and Countrey.

The danger to her Majeſty by this ſtatute.

But unto her Majeſty, for whoſe good and ſafety, the ſtatute is onely pretended to bee made, no doubt, but that it bringeth farre greater dangers, then any deviſe that they have uſed beſides. For hereby under colour of reſtraining the claimes and titles of true ſucceſſours, (whoſe endeavours notwithſtanding, are commonly more calme and moderate then of uſurpers,) they make unto themſelves, a meane to forſter and ſet forward their owne conſpiracy without controlement: ſeeing no man of might may oppoſe himſelfe againſt them, but with ſuſpition, that hee meaneth

neth to claime for himſelfe. And ſo they being armed, on the one ſide, with their authority and force of preſent fortune, and defended, on the other ſide, by the pretence of the ſtatute: they may ſecurely worke and plot at their pleaſure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whenſoever their grounds and foundations ſhall bee ready, it cannot bee denied, but that her Majeſties life, lieth much at their diſcretion, to take it, or uſe it, to their beſt commodity: (and there is no doubt, but they will,) as ſuch men are wont to doe in ſuch affaires. Marry one thing ſtandeth not in their powers ſo abſolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majeſties dayes or favour towards themſelves, at their pleaſures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due conſideration, leaſt perhaps upon any ſudden accident, they might bee found unready.

They have good care thereof I can aſſure you, (quoth the Gentleman) and meane not to bee prevented by any accident, or other miſhap whatſoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cauſe, they haſten ſo much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by ſending out their ſpies and ſolicitours every-where, to prove and confirme their friends: by delivering their Common watch-word: by complaining on all hands of our proteſtants Biſhops and Clergy, and of all the preſent ſtate of our irreformed religion, (as they call it:) by amplifying onely the danger of Papiſts and Scottiſh faction: by giving out openly that now her Majeſty is paſt hope of Childbirth, and conſequently ſeeing God hath given no better ſucceſſe that way in two Women one after the other: it were not convenient (ſay they) that an other of that ſexe ſhould enſue: with high commendation of the Law *Salick* in *France*, *Gentleman.*

The haſtning of the Conſpiratours.

whereby women are forbidden to ſucceed. Which ſpeech though in ſhew, it bee delivered againſt the Queene of *Scots* and other of King *Henry* the ſeventh his line, that diſcend of Siſters: yet all men ſee that it toucheth as well the diſabling of her Majeſty, that is preſent, as others to come: and ſo tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpoſe, which I have declared before.

Schollar. Here ſaid I, for the reſt which you ſpeake of, beſides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talke among them: but yet for the Watch-word it ſelfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the firſt that told you the ſtory, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to an other Noble man of the ſame degree and religion, though not of the ſame opinion in theſe affaires. And for that I am requeſted not to utter the ſecond, who told it mee in ſecret, I muſt alſo ſpare the name of the firſt: which otherwiſe I would not, nor the time and place where hee uttered the ſame.

The Watch-word of the Conſpiratours.

Lawyer. To this (ſaid the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beſeech you, let mee know this Watch-word (if there bee any ſuch) for mine inſtruction and helpe, when need ſhall require. For I aſſure you that this Gentlemans former ſpeech of halters hath ſo terrified mee, as if any ſhould come and aske or feele my inclination in theſe matters, I would anſwer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

Schollar. The Watch-word is, (ſaid I) *whether you bee ſetled or no?* and if you anſwere yea, and ſeeme to underſtand

Are you ſetled,

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the meaning thereof: then are you knowne to bee of their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt with-all for things to come. But if you staggar or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the mistery (as the Noble man my good Lord did, imagining that it had beene meant of his religion, which was very well knowne to bee good and setled in the Gospell) then are you discried thereby, either not to bee of their side, or els to bee but a Punie not well instructed, and consequently, hee that moveth you the question, will presently breake of that speech, and turne to some other talke, untill afterward occasion bee given to perswade you, or els instruct you better in that affaire. A great mistery.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before, perceiving by the demanding, that there was some mistery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip away (as hee endevoured) but with much intreaty, brought him at length, to expound the full meaning and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwards at the publique communions, which were made throughout so many shires, the matter became more common: especially, among the strangers that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same with great forces at all occasions.

Lawyer. Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many misteries and secrets bee there abroad in the World, whereof wee simple men know nothing and suspect lesse. This Watch-word should I never have imagined: and for the great and often assemblies under pretence of Communions, though of themselves and of there owne Assemblies at communions.

Strangers within the Land.

owne nature, they were unaccuſtomed, and conſequently ſubject to ſuſpition: yet did I never conceive ſo farre foorth as now I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of ſo many ſtrangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complaine every where. But now I ſee the reaſon thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpoſe. And by this alſo I ſee, that the houſe of *Huntington*, preſſeth farre forward for the game, and ſhouldreth neare the goale to lay hands upon the ſame. Which to tell you plainely, liketh mee but a little: both in reſpect of the good will I beare to the whole line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to bee diſpoſſeſſed: as alſo for the miſery, which I doe foreſee muſt neceſſarily enſue upon our Countrey, if once the chalenge of *Huntington* take place in our Realme. Which challenge being derived from the title of Clarence onely, in the Houſe of *Yorke*, before the union of the two great Houſes: raiſeth up againe the old contention, betweene the families of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, wherein ſo much *Engliſh* bloud was ſpilt in times paſt, and much more like to bee powred out now, if the ſame contention ſhould bee ſet on foot againe. Seeing that to the controverſie of titles, would bee added alſo the controverſie of Religion, which of all other differences is moſt dangerous.

The perill of our Country if *Huntington* claime take place.

Gentleman. Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of conſequence indeed, and ſuch as the very naming thereof, maketh my heart to ſhake and tremble. I remember well, what *Philip Cominus* ſetteth downe in his hiſtory of our Countries calamity, by that contention of thoſe two Houſes, diſtinguiſhed by the red roſe and the white: but yet both in their armes might juſtly have borne the colour of red, with a fierie ſword in a black field, to ſignifie the abundance

The red roſe and the white.

of

of bloud and mortality, which enſued in our Countrey, by that moſt wofull and cruell contention.

I will not ſtand here to ſet downe the particulars, obſerved and gathered by the foreſaid author, though a ſtranger, which for the moſt part hee ſaw himſelfe, while hee lived about the Duke of *Burgundy* and King *Lewes* of *France* of that time: namely the pittifull deſcription of divers right Noble men of our Realme, who beſides all other miſeries, were driven to begge openly in forraine Countries, and the like. Mine owne obſervation in reading over our Countrey affaires, is ſufficient, to make mee abhorre the memory of that time, and to dread all occaſion, that may lead us to the like in time to come; ſeeing that in my judgement, neither the Civill warres of *Marius* and *Sylla*, or of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* among the *Romanes*, nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibilines* among the *Italians*, die ever worke ſo much wo, as this did to our poore Countrey. Wherein by reaſon of the contention of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter* were foughten ſixteene or ſeventeene pitched fields, in leſſe then an hundreth yeares. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth yeare of King *Richard* the ſecond his raigne (when this controverſie firſt began to bud up) unto the thirteenth yeare of King *Henry* the ſeventh. At what time by cutting off the chiefe tittler of *Huntingtons* houſe, to wit, yong *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *Warwick*, Sonne and Heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*; the contention moſt happily was quenſhed and ended, wherein ſo many fields (as I have ſaid) were foughten, betweene Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne nation. And therein, and otherwiſe onely about the ſame quarrell, were ſlaine murdered and made away, about nine or tenne Kings and Kings Sonnes, beſides above fourty Earles, Marqueſſes, and Dukes of name: but many more

The miſery of *England* by the contention betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*.

Guelphians and *Gibilines*.

Edward Plantaginet Earle of *Warwick*.

Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Captaines: and of the Common-people without number, and by particular conjecture very neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell fought by King *Edward* the fourth, there are recorded to bee slaine on both parts, five and thirty thousand seven hundreth and eleven persons, besides other wounded and taken prisoners, to bee put to death afterward, at the pleasure of the Conquerour: at divers Battels after, ten thousand slaine at a Battell. As in those of *Barnet* and *Tukesbury*, fought both in one yeare.

The Battell by *Tadcaster* on Palme Sunday, *An.* 1460.

This suffered our afflicted Countrey in those dayes, by this infortunate and deadly contention, which could never bee ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two houses together, in *Henry* the seventh: neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the state had cut of, the issue male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of divers perils to King *Henry* the seventh, though hee were in prison. By whose sister the faction of *Huntington* at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now raigneth, then ever before.

The danger of *Huntingtons* claime, to the Realm and to her Majesty.

And for the Realme it is evident, by that it giveth roome to strangers, Competitours of the House of *Lancaster*: better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that linage before them. And for her Majesties perill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture; seeing the same title in the foresaid Earle of *Warwick* was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom shee holdeth) as hee was faine twice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friends

of

of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his faction, before that of her Majesty though never so unjustly.

Touching *Huntingtons* title, before her Majesty (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, hee may thrust himselfe so farre foorth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Lancasters* but also before him most apparently, from the House of *Yorke* it selfe, as from the eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, being the eldest brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington* claimeth onely, by the daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence* the younger brother. Marry yet I must confesse that if the Earle of *Warwicks* title, were better then that of King *Henry* the seventh (which is most false, though many attempted to defend the same by sword:) then hath *Huntington* some wrong at this day, by her Majesty. Albeit in very truth, the † attaints of so many of his Ancestours by whom hee claimeth: would answere him also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were otherwise allowable.

Lawyer.

How *Huntington* maketh his title before her Majesty.

† The most of *Huntingtons* Ancestours by whom hee maketh title, attainted of treason.

But I know besides this, they have an other fetch of King *Richard* the third, whereby hee would needs prove, his elder brother King *Edward* to bee a Bastard: and consequently his whole line as well male as female to bee void. Which devise though it bee ridiculous, and was at the time when it was first invented: yet, as *Richard* found at that time a Doctor *Shaw*, that shamed not to publish and defend the same, at *Paules* Crosse in a Sermon: and *John* of *Northumberland* my Lord of *Leycesters* Father, found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the title of *Suffolke*, and to debase the right of King *Henries* daughter both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford* and other places, most apparently against

The infamous device of K *Richard* the third allowed by *Huntington*.

Anno 1. *Mariæ.*

againſt all law and reaſon: ſo I doubt not, but theſe men would find out alſo, both *Shawes*, *Sands*, and others, to ſet out the title of *Clarence*, before the whole intereſt of King *Henry* the ſeventh and his poſterity, if occaſion ſerved. Which is a point of importance to bee conſidered by her Majeſty albeit for my part, I meane not now to ſtand thereupon, but onely upon that other of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as I have ſaid.

A point to be noted by her Majeſty.

For as that moſt honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two adverſary Houſes, in King *Henry* the ſeventh and his wife, made an end of the ſhedding of *Engliſh* bloud within it ſelfe, and brought us that moſt deſired peace, which ever ſince wee have enjoyed, by the raigne of their two moſt noble iſſue: ſo the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting of, the reſidue of that iſſue, and for recalling back of the whole title to the onely houſe of *Yorke* againe: is like to plung us deeper, then ever in civile diſcord, and to make us the bait of all forraine Princes: ſeeing there bee among them at this day, ſome, of no ſmall power (as I have ſaid) who pretend to bee the next heires by the houſe of *Lancaſter*: and conſequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore bee opened to contention for the ſame, by diſannulling the Line of King *Henry* the ſeventh: wherein onely the keyes of all concord remaine knit together.

The joyning of both houſes.

The Line of *Portugall*.

And albeit I know well that ſuch as bee of my Lord of *Huntingtons* party, will make ſmall accompt of the title of *Lancaſter*, as leſſe rightfull a great deale then that of *Yorke* (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the ſame, as now it is placed, being my ſelfe no favourer of forraine titles:) yet indifferent men have to conſider, how it was taken in times paſt,

and

and how it may againe, in time to come, if contention should arise: how many Noble personages of our Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof: how many oaths and lawes were given and received throughout the Realme for maintenance of the same, against the other House of *Yorke* for ever: how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned of that house and race, to wit, the foure most Noble *Henries*, one after an other, the fourth, the fift, the sixt, and the seventh: who both in number, governement, sanctity, courage, and feates of armes, were nothing inferiour (if not superiour) to those of the other house and line of *Yorke*, after the division betweene the families.

The old estimation of the House of *Lancaster*.

It is to bee considered also, as a speciall signe of the favour and affection, of our whole nation unto that family: that *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* though discending but of the last Sonne, and third wife of *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, was so respected, for that onely by the universall Realme: as they inclined wholly, to call him from banishment, and to make him King, with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *Yorke*, upon condition onely, that the said *Henry* should take to wife, a daughter of the contrary family: so great was in those dayes, the affection of *English* hearts, towards the line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthinesse of such Kings as had raigned of that race, how good or bad so ever their title were: which I stand not heare at this time to discusse, but onely to insinuate, what party the same found in our Realme in times past, and consequently, how extreame dangerous the contention for the same may bee hereafter: especially, seeing that at this day, the remainder of that title, is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great. Which wee Lawyers

Henry Earle of *Richmond*.

The Line of *Portugall*.

are wont to eſteeme as a point of no ſmall importance, for juſtifying of any mans title to a Kingdome.

Schollar. You Lawyers want not reaſon in that Sir (quoth I) howſoever you want right: for if you will examine the ſucceſſion of governements, from the beginning of the World unto this day, either among Gentile, Jewe, or Chriſtian people, you ſhall find that the ſword hath beene alwayes better then halfe the title, to get, eſtabliſh, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh mee the more apalled to heare you diſcourſe in ſuch ſort of new contentions, and forraine titles, accompanied with ſuch power and ſtrength of the titlers. Which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatall to our Realme, if once it come to action, both for the diviſion that is like to bee at home, and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you ſignifie, will not faile (by all likelihood) to purſue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occaſion were offered: ſo reaſon of ſtate and pollicy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and ſo by this meanes ſhall wee become *Iuda* and *Iſrael* among our ſelves, one killing and vexing the other with the ſword: and to forraine Princes wee ſhall bee, as the Iland of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megarians*: and as the Iland of *Cicilia* was afterward to the *Grecians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*: and as in our dayes, the Kingdome of *Naples* hath beene to the *Spaniards*, *French men*, *Germans*, and *Venetians*; That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

The ſword of great force to juſtifie the title of a Kingdome.

Great dangers.

Wherefore, I beſeech the Lord, to avert from us all occaſions of ſuch miſeries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of theſe matters,

ters, to take ſo much paines as to open unto mee the ground of theſe controverſies, ſo long now quiet, betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*: ſeeing they are now like to bee raiſed againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not, the foundation of the ſame: and much leſſe the ſtate of their ſeverall titles at this day, for that it is a ſtudy not properly pertaining unto my profeſſion.

Lawyer.

The controverſie betweene the Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter* (quoth the Lawyer) tooke his actuall beginning in the iſſue of King *Edward* the third, who died ſomewhat more then two hundred yeares agone: but the occaſion, pretence or cauſe of that quarrell, began, in the children of King *Henry* the third, who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two Sonnes, *Edward* who was King after him by the name of *Edward* the firſt, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third: and *Edmond*, (for his deformity called Crookeback) Earle of *Lancaſter* and beginner of that houſe, whoſe inheritance afterward in the fourth diſcent, fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that hee was borne in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, and ſo by this his firſt wife, hee became Duke of *Lancaſter* and heire of that houſe. And for that his Sonne *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* (afterward called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended among other things, that *Edmond Crookeback*, great Grandfather to *Blanch* his mother, was the elder Sonne of King *Henry* the third, and unjuſtly put by the inheritance of the Crowne, for that hee was Crookebacked and deformed: hee tooke by force, the Kingdome from *Richard* the ſecond, Nephew to King *Edward* the third by his firſt Sonne, and placed the ſame

The beginning of the controverſie betwixt *York* and *Lancaſter*.

Edmond Crookeback beginner of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

Blanch.

John of *Gaunt.*

How the Kingdome was first brought to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*.

in the houſe of *Lancaſter*, where it remained for three whole diſcents, untill afterward, *Edward* Duke of *Yorke* deſcended of *John* of *Gaunts* yonger brother, making claime to the Crowne by title of his Grandmother, that was heire to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunts* elder Brother: tooke the ſame by force from *Henry* the ſixt, of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and brought it back againe to the Houſe of *Yorke*: where it continued with much trouble in two Kings onely, untill both Houſes were joyned together in King *Henry* the ſeventh and his noble iſſue.

Hereby wee ſee how the iſſue of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Sonne to King *Edward* the third, pretended right to the Crowne by *Edmond Crookebacke*, before the iſſue of all the other three Sonnes of *Edward* the third, albeit they were the elder Brothers, whereof wee will ſpeake more hereafter. Now *John* of *Gaunt* though hee had many children, yet had hee foure onely, of whom iſſue remaine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The firſt Sonne was *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* Duke of *Lancaſter*, who tooke the Crowne from King *Richard* the ſecond, his Vnkles Sonne, as hath beene ſaid, and firſt of all planted the ſame in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: where it remained in two diſcents after him, that is, in his Sonne *Henry* the fift, and in his Nephew *Henry* the ſixt, who was afterward deſtroyed together with *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, his onely Sonne and heire, and conſequently all that Line of *Henry Bolingbrooke* extinguiſhed, by *Edward* the fourth of the Houſe of *Yorke*.

The iſſue of *John* of *Gaunt*.

The other Sonne of *John* of *Gaunt*, was *John* Duke of *Somerſet* by *Katherin Sfinsford*, his third wife: which *John*, had iſſue an other *John*, and hee, *Margaret* his Daughter and Heire, who being married to *Ed-*

The pedegree of King *Henry* the 7.

mond

mund Tyder Earle of *Richmond*, had iſſue *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry* the ſeventh, whoſe Line yet endureth.

The two Daughters of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, were married to *Portugall* and *Caſtile*: that is, *Philip* borne of *Blanch*, Heire to *Edmond Crookebacke*, as hath beene ſaid, was married to *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, of whom is deſcended the King that now poſſeſſeth *Portugall*, and the other Princes which have or may make title to the ſame: and *Katherin* borne of *Conſtance* Heire of *Caſtile*, was married back againe to *Henry* King of *Caſtile* in *Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is alſo deſcended. So that by this, wee ſee, where the remainder of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* reſteth, if the Line of King *Henry* the ſeventh were extinguiſhed: and what pretext forraine Princes may have to ſubdue us, if my Lord of *Huntington* either now or after her Majeſties dayes, will open to them the doore, by ſhutting out the reſt of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing back the title to the onely Houſe of *Yorke* againe: which hee pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

The two Daughters married to Portugall and Caſtile.

Forraine titles.

King *Edward* the third, albeit hee had many children, yet five onely will wee ſpeake of, at this time. Whereof three were elder then *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, and one yonger. The firſt of the elder, was named *Edward* the black Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard* who afterward being King and named *Richard* the ſecond, was depoſed without iſſue, and put to death by his Coſin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Sonne to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* as hath beene ſaid, and ſo there ended the Line of King *Edwards* firſt Son.

The iſſue of King Edward the 3.

King *Edwards* ſecond Sonne, was *William* of *Hatfield* that died without iſſue.

His third Sonne, was *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philip*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *Yorke*, Sonne and Heire to *Edmond* of *Langley* the first Duke of *Yorke*: which *Edmond* was the fift Sonne of King *Edward* the third, and yonger Brother to *Iohn* of *Gaunt*. And this *Edmond* of *Langley* may bee called the first beginner of the House of *Yorke*: even as *Edmond Crookback* the beginner of the House *Lancaster*.

Two *Edmonds* the two beginners of the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*.

This *Edmond Langley* then, having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer* sole Heire to *Leonell* Duke of *Clarence*, joyned two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell* and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath beene said) the third and the fift Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the child that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *Yorke*, seeing himselfe strong, and the first line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Sonne, to bee extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *William* of *Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Yorke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *Wakefield*: yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

The claime and title of *Yorke*.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fift and his brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall bee shewed: and also five Daughters: to wit *Elizabeth*, *Cicily*,

The issue of King *Edward* the fourth.

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Cicily, *Anne*, *Katherine*, and *Briget*. Whereof, the first was married to *Henry* the seventh. The last became a Nunne, and the other three, were bestowed upon divers other husbands.

He had also two Brothers: the first was called *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who afterward upon his deserts (as is to bee supposed,) was put to death in *Callis*, by commandement of the King, and his attainder allowed by Parliament. And this man left behind him a Sonne named *Edward* Earle of *Warwick*, put to death afterward without issue, by King *Henry* the seventh, and a Daughter named *Margaret*, *Countesse* of *Salisbury*, who was married to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by whom shee had issue Cardinall *Poole* that died without marriage, and *Henry Poole* that was attainted and executed in King *Henry* the eight his time (as also herselfe was) and this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *Huntington*, by whom this Earle that now is maketh title to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingtons* title.

The Duke of *Clarence* attainted by Parliament.

Huntingtons title by the Duke of *Clarence*.

The second Brother of King *Edward* the fourth, was *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who after the Kings death, causeſd his two Sonnes to bee murdered in the Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And afterward hee being slaine by King *Henry* the seventh at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Wherefore King *Henry* the seventh descending as hath beene shewed of the House of *Lancaſter*, by *Iohn* of *Gaunts* last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to wife Lady *Elizabeth* Eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Yorke*: joyned most hapyily the two Families together, and made an end of all controverſies about the title.

King *Richard* the third.

The happy conjunction of the two Houses.

Now King *Henry* the seventh had issue three Children:

The issue of King *Henry* the seventh.

dren: of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eight, of whom is descended our soveraigne, her Majesty that now happily raigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, hee had two Daughters: whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice, first to *Iames* King of *Scotland* from whom are directly discended the Queene of *Scotland* that now liveth and her Sonne: and King *Iames* being dead, *Margaret* was married again to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguish*: by whom shee had a Daughter named *Margaret*, which was married afterward, to *Mathew Steward* Earle of *Lenox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward*, was married to *Elizabeth Candish* Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The Line and Title of *Scotland* by *Margaret* eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the 7.

Arbella.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also: first to the King of *France* by whom shee had no issue: and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom shee had two Daughters, that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* doe make their claime: and *Elenore* by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall bee declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France*, was married to the Marquesse of *Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandons* death was made Duke of *Suffolke* in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queene *Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And shee had by this man three Daughters: that is, *Iane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and proclaimed

The Line and Title of *Suffolke* by *Mary*, second Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh.

The issue of *Francis* eldest Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*.

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claimed Queene after King *Edwards* death, for which both ſhee and her husband were executed: *Katherine* the ſecond Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living, by the Earle of *Hartford*: and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The iſſue of *Francis* eldeſt daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France* called *Elenor*, was married to *George Clifford* Earle of *Cumberland*, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the Earle of *Darby*, which yet liveth and hath iſſue. And this is the title of all the Houſe of *Suffolke*, deſcended from the ſecond Daughter of King *Henry* the ſeventh, married (as hath beene ſhewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*. And by this, you ſee alſo how many there bee, who doe thinke their titles to bee fat before that of my Lord of *Huntingtons*, if either right, law, reaſon, or conſideration of home affaires may take place in our Realme: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buckle with *Huntingtons* Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King *Henry* the ſeventh which God forbid.

The iſſue of *Elenor* ſecond daughter to *Charles Brandon*.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not ſo nigh as I had thought, whether hee exclude the Line of King *Henry*, or no. For if hee exclude that, then muſt hee enter the Combat with forraine titlers of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: and if hee exclude it not, then in all apparance of reaſon and in Law to (as you have ſaid) the ſucceſſion of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the ſeventh (which you diſtinguiſh by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) muſt needs bee as clearely before him and his Line, that deſcendeth onely from *Edward* the fourth his Brother: as the Queenes title that now raigneth

Schollar. *Huntington* behind many other titles.

is before him. For that both *Scotland*, *Suffolke*, and her Majeſty doe hold all by one foundation, which is, the union of both Houſes and Titles together, in King *Henry* the ſeventh her Majeſties Grandfather.

Gentleman. That is true (quoth the Gentleman) and evident enough in every mans eye: and therefore no doubt, but that as much is meant againſt her Majeſty if occaſion ſerve, as againſt the reſt that hold by the ſame title. Albeit her Majeſties ſtate (the Lord bee praiſed) bee ſuch at this time, as it is not ſafety to pretend ſo much againſt her, as againſt the reſt, whatſoever bee meant. And that in truth, more ſhould bee meant againſt her highneſſe, then againſt all the reſt, there is this reaſon: for that her Majeſty by her preſent poſſeſſion letteth more their deſires, then all the reſt together with there future pretences. But as I have ſaid, it is not ſafety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane againſt her Majeſty: It is the beſt way for the preſent, to hew downe the reſt, and to leave her Majeſty, for the laſt blow and upſhote to their game. For which cauſe, they will ſeeme to make great difference at this day, betweene her Majeſties title, and the reſt, that deſcend in likewiſe from King *Henry* the ſeventh: avowing the one, and diſallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of *Leyceſters* Father, preferred that of *Suffolke*, when time was, before this of her Majeſty, and compelled the whole Realme to ſweare thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that ſerve the time, or rather, that ſerve themſelves, of all times, for their purpoſes.

The policy of the Conſpiratours for the deceiving of her Majeſty.

Sybilla. I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was preſent my ſelfe, at ſome of his Proclamations for that purpoſe. Wherein my Lord his Sonne that

now

now liveth: being then a doer, (as I can tell hee was:) I marvaile how hee can deale ſo contrary now: preferring not onely her Majeſties title before that of *Suffolke* (whereof I wonder leſſe becauſe it is more gainefull to him,) but alſo another much further of. But you have ſignified the cauſe, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to bee conſidered by others, whom it concerneth, I beſeech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worſhip hath beene much converſant among their friends and favourers) to tell mee what are the barres and lettes which they doe alleadge, why the Houſe of *Scotland* and *Suffolke* deſcending of King *Henry* the ſeventh his Daughters, ſhould not ſucceed in the Crowne of *England* after her Majeſty, who endeth the Line of the ſame King by his Sonne: for in my ſight the matter appeareth very plaine.

Leyceſters variabilitie.

They want not pretences of barres and lets againſt them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. Firſt in the Line of *Scotland* there are three perſons as you know that may pretend right: that is, the Queene and her ſonne by the firſt mariage of *Margaret*, and *Arbella* by the ſecond. And againſt the firſt marriage I heare nothing affirmed: but againſt the two perſons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three ſtops: one, for that they are ſtrangers borneout of the land, and conſequently incapable of inheritance within the ſame: another, for that by a ſpeciall teſtament of King *Henry* 8. authorized by 2. ſeverall Parliaments they are excluded: the third for that they are enemies to the religionnow receivedamongus, & therfore to bedebarred.

Gentleman.

Barres pretendedagainſt the claime of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*.

Againſt the Queene of *Scotland* and her ſonne.

Againſt the ſecond marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas*, whereof *Arbella* is deſcended, they alledge

Againſt *Arbella*.

alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after: & so neither that mariage lawful, nor the issue therof legitimate.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of Suffolk, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, had a knowen wife alive when he married *Mary* Queene of *France*, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Elenor*, borne of that marriage can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Elenor*. But against my Lord of *Hartfords* children, that come from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage, For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquesse *Dorset*, when he married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earle of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: whereby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly, that the Lady *Katherine* daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the Marques (by whom the Earle of *Hartford* had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of *Pembroke* that now liveth, & consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3ly. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully maried to the said Earle of *Hartford*, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is defined and registred in the Archbishop of *Canterburies* court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them alledge, about these affaires.

Against Darby.

Against the children of *Hartford*.

Scholler. It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leicester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Ladie *Frances*, whom in time

time past, when *Jane* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of K. *Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of veritie these allegations have, and how far in truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alledged before. *Leicesters dealing with the house of Suffolke.*

Whereto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fee: though in some points alledged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common governement of *England*, may easily give his judgement also. As in the case of bastardie, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly be pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forreiners borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in *England*, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearely: I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention. *Gentleman.* *Bastardy.* *Forraign birth.*

To this answered the Lawyer. I will gladly, Sir, tel you my mind in any that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter wherein by occasion of often conference, I am somewhat perfect. *Lawyer.*

The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of K. *Henry* the 8. his sisters, are of two kindes, as you see: The one knowen and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may bee proved: and that is bastardie: whereby they seeke to disable all the whole Line and race of *Suffolke*: as also *Arbella*, of the second and later house of *Scotland*. Whereof it is *Bastardies lawfull stops.*

to ſmall purpoſe to ſpeake any thing here: ſeeing the whole controverſie ſtandeth upon a matter of fact onely, to be proved or improved by records and witneſſes. Onely this I will ſay, that ſome of theſe baſtardies, before named, are rife in many mens mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live: but let other men looke to this, who have moſt intereſt therein, and may bee moſt damnified by them, if they fall out true.

The impediments againſt *Scotland* three in number.

The other impediments, which are alleadged onely againſt the Queene of *Scots* and her Sonne, are in number three, as you recite them: that is, forraine birth, King *Henries* Teſtament and Religion: whereof I am content to ſay ſome what, ſeeing you deſire it: albeit there bee ſo much publiſhed already in bookes of divers languages beyond the ſea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot bee ſaid. But yet ſo much as I have heard paſſe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of theſe affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this Proviſo and Proteſtation alwayes, that what I ſpeake, I ſpeake by way of recitall of other mens opinions: not meaning my ſelfe to incurre the ſtatute of affirming or avowing any perſons title to the Crowne, whatſoever.

A proteſtation.

Touching the firſt impediment of forraine birth.

Firſt then touching forraine birth, there bee ſome men in the World that will ſay, that it is a common and generall rule of our law, that no ſtranger at all, may inherit any thing, by any meanes, within the Land: which in truth I take to bee ſpoken without ground, in that generall ſenſe. For I could never yet come to the ſight of any ſuch common or univerſall rule: and I know, that divers examples may bee alleadged in ſundry caſes to the contrary: and by that, which is expreſly ſet downe in the ſeventh and ninth yeares

yeares of King *Edward* the fourth, and in the eleventh and foureteenth of *Henry* the fourth, it appeareth plainely that a ſtranger may purchaſe lands in *England*, as alſo inherite by his Wife, if hee marry an inheritrix. Wherefore this common rule is to bee reſtrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance onely: in which ſenſe I doe eaſily grant, that our Common law hath beene of ancient, and is at this day, that no perſon borne out of the allegiance of the King of *England*, whoſe Father and Mother were not of the ſame allegiance at the time of his birth, ſhall bee able to have or demand any heritage within the ſame allegiance, as heire to any perſon. And this rule of our Common law is gathered in theſe ſelfe ſame words of a ſtatute made in the five and twentieth yeare of King *Edward* the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can bee alleadged out of our law againſt the inheritance of ſtrangers in ſuch ſenſe and caſes, as wee now treat of.

An Alien may purchaſe.

The true Maxima againſt Aliens.

The ſtatute of King *Edward* whence the Maxima is gathered.

And albeit now the Common law of our Countrey, doe runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the *Scottiſh* claime affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindred at all towards the Crowner and that for divers manifeſt and weighty reaſons: whereof the principall are theſe which enſue.

Reaſons, why the Scottiſh title is not letted by the Maxima againſt Aliens.

Firſt it is common, and a generall rule of our *Engliſh* lawes, that no Rule, Axiome, or Maxima of law (bee it never ſo generall) can touch or bind the Crowne, except expreſſe mention bee made thereof, in the ſame: for that the King and Crowne have great priviledge and prerogative, above the ſtate and affaires of ſubjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

The firſt reaſon.

As for example, it is a generall and common rule of law, that the wife after the deceaſe of her husband, ſhall

The rule of thirds.

ſhall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene ſhall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to bee ſeene by Law. *Anno* 5. and 21. of *Edward* the third: and *Anno* 9. and 28. of *Henry* the ſixt. Alſo it is a common rule, that the Husband ſhall hold his wives lands after her death: as tenant by courteſie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

Tenant by curteſie.

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man die ſeaſed of Land in Fee ſimple, having Daughters and no Sonne: his lands ſhall bee devided by equall portions among his Daughters: which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldeſt Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if ſhee were the ſiue male. So alſo it is a common rule of our law, that the executour ſhall have all the goods and chattels of the Teſtatour, but yet not in the Crowne. And ſo in many other caſes which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and can bee ſubject to rule, bee it never ſo generall, except expreſſe mention bee made thereof in the ſame law: as it is not in the former place and a ſtatute alleaged: but rather to the contrary, (as after ſhall bee ſhewed) there is expreſſe exception, for the prerogative of ſuch as deſcend of Royall bloud.

Diviſion among daughters.

Executors.

Their ſecond reaſon is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne, cannot in true ſenſe bee comprehended under the words of the former ſtatute, forbidding Aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of *England*: and that for two reſpects. The one, for that the Crowne it ſelfe cannot bee called an heritage of allegiance or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no ſuperiour upon earth, but immediately from God

The 2. reaſon The Crowne no ſuch inheritance as is meant in the ſtatute.

God himſelfe: the ſecond, for that this ſtatute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by deſcent, as Heire to the ſame, (for I have ſhewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchaſe within our Dominion) and then ſay they, the Crowne is a thing incorporate and deſcendeth not according to the common courſe of other private inheritances: but goeth by ſucceſſion, as other incorporations doe. In ſigne whereof, it is evident, that albeit, the King bee more favoured in all his doings then any common perſon ſhall bee: yet cannot hee avoid by law his grants and letters patents by reaſon of his nonage (as other infants and common heires under age may doe) but alwayes bee ſaid to bee of full age in reſpect of his Crowne: even as a Prior, Parſon, Vicar, Deane, or other perſon incorporate ſhall bee, which cannot by any meanes in law bee ſaid, to bee within age, in reſpect of their incorporations. The Crown a corporation.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our caſe, from the meaning of the former ſtatute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parſon, being Aliens and no Denizens: might alwayes in time of peace, demand lands in *England*, in reſpect of their corporations, notwithſtanding the ſaid ſtatute or common law againſt Aliens, as appeareth by many booke caſes yet extant: as alſo by the ſtatute made in the time of King *Richard* the ſecond, which was after the foreſaid ſtatute of King *Edward* the third.

The third reaſon is, for that in the former ſtatute it ſelfe, of King *Edward*, there are excepted expreſly from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings off-ſpring or iſſue, as the word *Infant* doth ſignifie, both in *France*, *Portugall*, *Spaine*, and other Countries: and as the latin word *Liberi* (which anſwereth the ſame) is taken commonly in the Civill law. The third reaſon. The Kings iſſue excepted by name.

Liberorum. F. de verb. ſign.

Neither may wee reſtraine the french words of that ſtatute INFANTES DV ROY, to the Kings children only of the firſt degree (as ſome doe, for that the barrenneſſe of our language doth yeeld us no other word for the ſame) but rather, that thereby are underſtood, as well the Nephewes and other diſcendants of the King or blood Royal, as his immediate children. For it were both unreaſonable and ridiculous to imagine, that King *Edward* by this ſtatute, would goe about to diſinherit his owne nephewes, if hee ſhould have any borne out of his owne allegiance (as eaſily he might at that time) his ſonnes being much abroad from *England*, and the blacke Prince his eldeſt ſonne having two children borne beyond the ſeas: and conſequently, it is apparent, that this rule or Maxime ſet ſet downe againſt Aliens is no way to be ſtretched againſt the deſcendants of the King or of the blood Royall.

The fourth reaſon. The Kings meaning.

Their fourth reaſon is, that the meaning of King *Edward* and his children (living at ſuch time as this ſtatute was made) could not be, that any of their linage or iſſue might be excluded in law, from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by their forreine birth whereſoever. For otherwiſe, it is not credible that they would ſo much have diſperſed their own blood in other countries, as they did: by giving their daughters to ſtrangers, and other meanes. As *Leonel* the kings third ſonne was married in *Millan*: and *Iohn* of *Gaunt* the fourth ſonne gave his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to *Portugall* and *Caſtile*: and his neice *Ioan* to the King of Scots: as *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* alſo the youngeſt brother, married his two daughters, the one to the King of *Spaine*, and the other to Duke of *Brittaine*. Which no doubt (they being wiſe Princes, and ſo neere of the blood Royal) would never have done

The matches of England with forraigners.

done: if they had imagined that hereby their iſſue ſhould have loſt all clayme and title to the Crowne of *England:* and therefore it is moſt evident, that no ſuch barre was then extant or imagined.

Their fift reaſon is, that divers perſons borne out of all Engliſh dominion and allegiance, both before the conqueſt and ſince, have beene admitted to the ſucceſſion of our Crowne, as lawfull inheritors, without any exception againſt them for their forraine birth. As before the conqueſt is evident in young *Edgar Ethelling* borne in *Hungarie*, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great Vncle King *Edward* the Confeſſor, with full conſent of the whole Realme, the Biſhop of *Worceſter* being ſent as Ambaſſadour to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward* the out-law.

The fift reaſon. Examples of forrainers admitted.

Flores hiſt. An. 1066.

And ſince the conqueſt, it appeareth plainly in King *Stephen* and King *Henry* the ſecond, both of them borne out of Engliſh dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the Engliſh allegiance: and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Young *Arthur* alſo Duke of *Bretaigne* by his mother *Conſtance* that matched with *Geffray* King *Henry* the ſeconds ſonne, was declared by King *Richard* his Vncle, at his departure towards *Ieruſalem*, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*, though he were borne in *Britaine* out of Engliſh allegiance, and ſo he was taken and adjudged by all the world at that day: albeit after King *Richards* death, his other Vncle *Iohn*, moſt tyrannouſly took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injuſtice he was detected of all men both abroad and at home: and moſt apparently ſcourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himſelfe and upon the Realme, which yeelded to his uſurpation. So that by this alſo it appeareth, what the practice of our

Pol. lib. 15. *Flor. hiſt.* 1203.

King Iohn a Tyrant.

countrey hath beene from time to time in this case of forraine birth: which practice is the best Interpretor of our common English law: which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome: nor can the adversary alleage any one example to the contrary.

The sixt reason. The judgement and sentence of K. *Henry* the seventh.

Their sixt, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councell: who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the mariage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into *Scotland*: some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the Kings issue male should faile, and so the succession devolue to the heires of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer: that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to *England*, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall: for that it should draw *Scotland* to *England*: that is, the lesser to the more: even as in times past it hapned in *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the Kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of King *Henry* or his Counsellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margarets* issue: which no doubt would never have beene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had beene esteemed or imagined to barre the same.

And these are sixe of their principalest reasons, to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may be debarred from claime of his interest to the Crowne, when it falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and succession. But in the

par-

particular caſe of the Queene of Scots and her ſonne, thiey doe adde another reaſon or two: thereby to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens. Not onely in reſpect of their often and continuall mixture with Engliſh blood from the beginning (and eſpecially of late, the Queenes Grandmother and husband being Engliſh, and ſo her ſonne begotten of an Engliſh father) but alſo for two other cauſes and reaſons, which ſeeme in truth of very good importance.

The ſeventh reaſon. The Q. of *Scots* and her ſonne no Aliens.

The firſt is, for that *Scotland* by all Engliſh men, (howſoever the Scots deny the ſame) is taken and holden as ſubject to *England* by way of Homage: which many of their Kings, at divers times have acknowledged: and conſequently, the Queene and her ſonne being borne in *Scotland*, are not borne out of the allegiance of *England*, and ſo no forrainers.

The ſecond cauſe or reaſon is, for that the forenamed ſtatute of Forrainers in the five and twenty yeare of King *Edward* the third, is intituled *of thoſe that are borne beyond the ſeas*. And in the body of the ſame ſtatute, the doubt is moved of children borne out of Engliſh allegiance beyond the ſeas: whereby cannot be underſtood *Scotland*, for that it is a peece of the continent land within the ſeas. And all our old Records in *England*, that talke of ſervice to be done within theſe two countries: have uſually theſe latine words, *Infra quatuor maria*, or in French, *deins lez quatre mers*, that is, within the foure ſeas: whereby muſt needs be underſtood as well *Scotland* as *England*, and that perhaps for the reaſon before mentioned, of the ſubjection of *Scotland* by way of Homage to the Crowne of *England*. In reſpect whereof it may be, that it was accounted of old, but one dominion or allegiance. And conſequently, no man borne therein can be accounted an Alien to *England*. And this ſhall ſuffice for the

first point, touching forraine Nativity.

The second impediment against the Q. of *Scots*, and her son which is K. *Henry* the eight this Testament.

For the second impediment objected, which is the Testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, whereby they affirme the succession of *Scotland* to bee excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behind the succession of the house of *Suffolke*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* so disposeth, that after his owne children (if they should chance to die without issue) the Crowne shall passe to the heires of *Frances*, and of *Elenore*, his neices by his younger sister *Mary* Queene of *France*: and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heires againe. Whereby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of *Scotland* his eldest sister, is not excluded: but thrust back only from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the younger. Whereof in mine opinion doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

Forrain birth no impediment in the judgement of K. *Henry* the eight.

First, that in King *Henries* judgement, the former pretended rule of forraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against *Scotland*: for if it had beene no doubt, but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the Testament.

The succession of *Scotland* next by the judgement of the competitors.

Secondly, if they admit this Testament, which allotteth the Crowne to *Scotland*, next after *Suffolke*: then, seeing that all the house of *Suffolke*, (by these mens assertion) is excluded by Bastardie: it must needs follow, that *Scotland* by their owne judgement is next, and so this Testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparently, but only that it preferreth the house of *Suffolke*, before that of *Scotland*,

land. And therefore (I thinke Sir) that you miſtake ſomewhat about their opinion in alleaging this Teſtament. For I ſuppoſe, that no man of my Lord of *Huntingtons* faction, will alleage or urge the teſtimonie of this Teſtament: but rather ſome friend of the houſe of *Suffolke* in whoſe favour, I take it, that it was firſt of all forged.

Gentleman.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I ſtand obſtinatly in the contrary: for that it is hard, ſometime to judge of what faction each one is, who diſcourſeth of theſe affaires. But yet I marvell (if it were as you ſay) why *Leiceſters* father after King *Edwards* death, made no mention thereof in the favour of *Suffolke*, in the other Teſtament which then he proclaymed, as made by King *Edward* deceaſed, for preferment of *Suffolke* before his owne ſiſters.

Lavv. The Duke of *Northumberlands* drift.

The cauſe of this is evident: (quoth the Lawyer) for that it made not ſufficiently for his purpoſe: which was to diſinherit the two daughters of King *Henry* himſelfe, and advance the houſe of *Suffolke* before them both.

Gentleman.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a title ſo much exalted of late by the father, above all order, right, ranke, and degree: ſhould now be ſo much debaſed by the ſonne, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under foot for plaine baſtardie. And you ſee by this, how true it is which I told you before: that the race of *Dudlies* are moſt cunning Merchants, to make their gaine of all things, men and times. And as wee have ſeene now two teſtaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the Kings ſonne, and both of them in prejudice of the teſtators true ſucceſſors: ſo many good ſubiects begin greatly to feare, that wee may chance to ſee ſhortly a third teſtament of her Maieſty for

The mutable dealing of the houſe of *Dudly.*

for the intituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* bloud, and that before her Majeſty can thinke of ſickneſſe: wherein I beſeech the Lord I bee no Prophet. But now (Sir) to the foreſaid Will and Teſtament of King *Henry*; I have often heard, in truth, that the thing was counterfeit, or at the leaſt not able to bee proved: and that it was diſcovered, rejected, and defaced in Queene *Maries* time: but I would gladly underſtand what you Lawyers eſteeme or judge thereof.

Lawyer. Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot bee denied, but that in the twenty and eight, and thirty and ſixt yeares of King *Henries* raigne, upon conſideration of ſome doubt and irreſolution, which the King himſelfe had ſhewed, to have about the order of ſucceſſion in his owne children, as alſo for taking away all occaſions of controverſies in thoſe of the next bloud: the whole Parliament gave authority unto the ſaid King, to debate and determine thoſe matters himſelfe, together with his learned Councell, who beſt knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatſoever ſucceſſion his Majeſty ſhould declare as moſt right and lawfull under his letters patents ſealed, or by his laſt will and teſtament rightfully made and ſigned with his owne hand: that the ſame ſhould bee received for good and lawfull.

The authority, and occaſion of King *Henries* teſtament.

Vpon pretence whereof, ſoone after King *Henries* death, there was ſhewed a will with the Kings ſtamp at the ſame, and the names of divers witneſſes, wherein (as hath beene ſaid) the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, after the Kings owne children, is aſſigned to the Heires of *Frances* and of *Elenor*, Neeces to the King, by his yonger ſiſter. Which aſſignation of the Crowne, being as it were a meere guift in prejudice of

of the elder ſiſters right (as alſo of the right of *Frances* and *Elenor* themſelves, who were omitted in the ſame aſſignation, and their Heires intituled onely) was eſteemed to bee againſt all reaſon, law, and nature, and conſequently not thought to proceed from ſo wiſe and ſage a Prince, as King *Henry* was knowne to bee: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leaſtwiſe that clauſe inſerted by other, and the Kings ſtamp ſet unto it, after his death, or when his Majeſty lay now paſt underſtanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers moſt evident reaſons and proofes.

The Kings Teſtament forged.

For firſt, it is not probable or credible, that King *Henry* would ever goe about, againſt law and reaſon, to diſinherite the line of his eldeſt ſiſter, without any profit or intereſt to himſelfe: and thereby, give moſt evident occaſion of Civill warre and diſcord within the Realme, ſeeing, that in ſuch a caſe of manifeſt and apparent wrong, in ſo great a matter, the authority of Parliament, taketh little effect, againſt the true and lawfull inheritour: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henry* the ſixt, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whoſe raignes, the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden, againſt the next inheritour, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne party good.

The firſt reaſon.

Injuſtice and improbability.

So likewiſe, in the caſe of King *Edward* the third his ſucceſſion to *France*, in the right of his Mother, though hee were excluded by the generall aſſembly and conſent of their Parliaments: yet hee eſteemed not his right extinguiſhed thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that enſued after him. And for our preſent caſe, if nothing els ſhould have reſtrained King *Henry*, from ſuch open injuſtice towards his eldeſt ſiſter: yet this cogitation, at leaſt,

The example of *France*.

would have ſtayed him: that by giving example of ſupplanting his elder ſiſters Line by vertue of a teſtament or pretence of Parliament: ſome other might take occaſion to diſplace his children by like pretence: as wee ſee that Duke *Dudley* did ſoone after, by a forged teſtament of King *Edward* the ſixt. So ready Schollars there are to bee found, which eaſily will learne ſuch Leſſons of iniquity.

The ſecond reaſon. Incongruities and indignities.

Secondly, there bee too many incongruities and indignities in the ſaid predented Will to proceed from ſuch a Prince and learned Councell as King *Henries* was. For firſt what can bee more ridiculous, then to give the Crowne unto the Heires of *Frances* and *Elenor*, and not to any of themſelves? or what had they offended that their Heires ſhould enjoy the Crowne in their right and not they themſelves? What if King *Henries* children ſhould have died, whiles Lady *Francis* had beene yet alive? who ſhould have poſſeſſed the Kingdome before her, ſeeing her Line was next? and yet by this teſtament ſhee could not pretend her ſelfe to obtaine it. But rather having married *Adrian Stokes* her Horſekeeper, ſhee muſt have ſuffered her Sonne by him (if ſhee had any) to enjoy the Crowne: and ſo *Adrian* of a ſerving man and Maſter of horſes, ſhould have become the great Maſter and Protectour of *England*. Of like abſurdity is that other clauſe alſo, wherein the King bindeth his owne Daughters to marry, by conſent and direction of his counſell, or otherwiſe to leeſe the benefit of their ſucceſſion: but yet bindeth not his Neices Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of *Francis* and *Elenor* (if that they had any) to any ſuch condition.

Adrian Stokes.

The third reaſon.

Thirdly, there may bee divers cauſes and arguments alleadged in law, why this pretended will is

not

not authenticall: if otherwiſe, it were certaine that King *Henry* had meant it: Firſt, for that it is not agreable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authority, for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation or intricating of the ſame, to the ruine of tho Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authenticall Copy extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolement in the Chancery, which is not ſufficient in ſo weighty an affaire: no witneſſe of the Privy Councel or of Nobility to the ſame: which had beene convenient in ſo great a caſe (for the beſt of the witneſſes therein named, is Sir *John Gates*, whoſe miſerable death is well knowne:) no publike Notary: no Probation of the will before any Biſhop, or any lawfull Court for that purpoſe: no examination of the witneſſes: or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

The preſuppoſed Will is not authenticall.

But of all other things this is moſt of importance: that the King never ſet his owne hand to the foreſaid Will, but his ſtamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when hee was paſt remembrance: as the late Lord *Paget* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* dayes, being of the Privy Councell, firſt of all other diſcovered the ſame, of his owne accord, and upon meere motion of conſcience, confeſſing before the whole Councell, and afterward alſo before the whole Parliament, how that himſelfe was privy thereunto, and partly alſo culpable, (being drawen thereunto, by the inſtigation and forcible authority of others:) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions deteſted the device: and ſo of his owne free will, very honorably went and offered the diſcovery thereof to the Councell. As alſo did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord chiefe juſtice, that had beene

The diſproving of the Will by witneſſes.

The Lord *Paget*.

Sir *Edward Montague*.

William Clarke.

privy and present at the said doings, and one *William Clarke*, that was the man who put the stamp unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretensed witnesses, confessed the whole premisses to bee true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon Queene *Mary* and her Councell, caused presently the said inrolement, lying in the Chancery, to be canceled, defaced and abolished.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth about the 11. or 12. yeare of her raigne, (if I count not amisse) by occasion of a certaine little booke spred abroad at that time, very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Suffolke*, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and *Penbrooke* that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrooke* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe if I bee not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretensed will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not bee true or authenticall: the old Earle of *Penbrooke* protesting that hee was with the King in his Chamber from the first day of his sickneſſe unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the Queene of *Scotland* heire apparent in *Cheapside*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it) was then as forward as any man els: how bee it, now, for his profit, hee bee turned aside, and would turne back againe to morrow next, for a greater commodity.

A meeting together about this matter of the nobility.

My Lord of Leycester againe playeth double.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best knowne,

knowne, they proceeded not in the open publiſhing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Pembrooke* now living, can beare witneſſe that thus much is true: and that his Father the old Earle at that time, told him openly before the other Noblemen, that hee had brought him to that aſſembly and place, to inſtruct him in that truth, and to charge him, to witneſſe the ſame, and to defend it alſo, with his ſword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordſhip is of that honour and nobility, as hee can not leave of eaſily the remembrance or due regard of ſo worthy an admonition. And this ſhall ſuffice for the ſecond impediment, imagined to proceed of this ſuppoſed Teſtament of King *Henry* the eight.

The old Earl of *Pembrooks* admonition, to the Earle his Sonne yet living.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that onely one perſon (if I bee not deceived) of all the Competitours in King *Henries* line, can bee touched with ſuſpition of different religion, from the preſent ſtate of *England*. Which perſon notwithſtanding (as is well knowne) while ſhee was in governement in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of conſcience, and free exerciſe of religion, to thoſe of the contrary profeſſion and opinion, without reſtraint. And if ſhee had not: yet doe I not ſee, either by preſcript of law, or practiſe of theſe our times, that diverſity of religion, may ſtay juſt inheritours from enjoying their due poſſeſſions, in any ſtate or degree of private men: and much leſſe in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe (as hath beene ſaid before) is preferred in priviledge.

The third impediment of Religion.

This wee ſee by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day: as in *Germany*, where among ſo many Princes, and ſo devided in religion

Princes of *Germany*.

ligion as they bee: yet every one ſucceedeth to the ſtate, whereto hee hath right, without reſiſtance for his religion. The examples alſo of her Majeſty that now is, and of her ſiſter before, is evident: who being knowne to bee of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme devided in opinion for the ſame cauſe: yet both of them at their ſeverall times with generall conſent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few * traytours againſt the former, who withſtood her right as alſo in her, the right of her Majeſty that is preſent, and that not for religion (as appeared by their owne confeſſion after) but for ambition and deſire of raigne. Monſieur, the Kings brother and heire of *France*, as all the World knoweth, is well accepted, favored and admitted for ſucceſſour of that Crowne, by all the Proteſtants at this day of that Countrey, not withſtanding his opinion in religion knowne to bee different. And I doubt not, but the King of *Navarre* or Prince of *Condy*, in the contrary part, would thinke themſelves greatly injuried by the ſtate of *France*, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is and his brother without iſſue, (if God ſo diſpoſe) they ſhould bee barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their religion. My Lord of *Huntington* himſelfe alſo, is hee not knowne to bee of a different religion from the preſent ſtate of *England*? and that, if hee were King to morrow next, hee would alter the whole governement, order, condition, and ſtate of religion, now uſed and eſtabliſhed, within the Realme?

Queene *Mary*. Queene *Elizabeth*.

* The *Dudleis* Monſieur.

King of *Navarre* Prince of *Condy*.

My Lord of *Huntingtons* religion.

But as I ſaid in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families, bee culpable, or to bee touched herein: what have the reſt offended thereby?

The title of thoſe which enue the Queene of *Scots*.

will

will you exclude all, for the misslike of one? And to descend in order: if the first in King *Henries* line, after her Majesty may bee touched in this point, yet, why should the rest hee damnified thereby? The King of *Scotland* her Sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equity) why should hee bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whole discent is consequent, by nature, order and degree?

Scholler. The yong King of *Scotland*

For the yong King of *Scotland* (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine owne part, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conceipt which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to Kingdomes: but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that hee might not onely become in time, an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the World: but also (if God should deprive us of her Majesty without issue) might bee a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Governement, the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath beene sought, by the price of many a thousand mens bloud, and not obtained.

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what meanes) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine misslike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that hee is inclined to bee a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings. Which argueth him verily, of singular ingratitude, if it bee true, considering the great helps and protection which hee hath received from her highnesse ever sithence hee was borne.

And

Gentleman. And are you ſo ſimple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleeve every report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leyceſter* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall diſgrace with her Majeſty and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard* of *Gloceſter* had never beene able to have uſurped as hee did, if hee had not firſt perſwaded King *Edward* the fourth to hate his owne Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke ſtood in the way, betweene *Richard* and the thing, which hee moſt of all things coveted. That is, the poſſibility to the Crowne, and ſo in this caſe is there the like device to bee obſerved.

The device to ſet out her Majeſty with the yong King of *Scotland.*

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotlands* religion, it is evident to as many as have reaſon, that it can bee no other of it ſelfe but inclined to the beſt: both in reſpect of his education, inſtruction, and converſation, with thoſe of true religion: as alſo by his former Actions, Edicts, Governement, and private behaviour, hee hath declared. Marry theſe men whoſe profit is nothing leſſe, then that hee or any other of that race ſhould doe well: doe not ceaſe dayly by all ſecret wayes, drifts, and moleſtations poſſible, to drive him either to miſlike of our religion, or els to incurre the ſuſpition thereof, with ſuch of our Realme, as otherwiſe would bee his beſt friends: or if not this: yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourſe to ſuch other Princes abroad, as may moſt offend or miſlike this ſtate.

The intollerable proceedings of certain Miniſters in *Scotland* againſt their King by ſubordination of his enemies in *England.*

And for this cauſe, they ſuborne certaine buſie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, pertaining to the miniſtery of *Scotland*, (but unworthy of ſo worthy a calling) to uſe ſuch inſolency towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intollerable. For hee may doe no thing, but they will examine

examine and diſcuſſe the ſame in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when it pleaſeth them to call him to their preaching: if hee make but a dinner or ſupper, when, or where, or with whom they like not: if hee receive but a coople of horſes or other preſent from his friends or kinſmen beyond the ſeas: if hee ſalute or uſe courteouſly any man or meſſenger which commeth from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courteſie are accuſtomed, though they come from their enemies, as often hath beene ſeene and highly commended in her Majeſty of *England:*) if hee deale familiarly with any Ambaſſadour which liketh not them: or finally if hee doe ſay, or ſignifie, any one thing whatſoever, that pleaſeth not their humour: they will preſently, as ſeditious tribunes of the people, exclame in publique, and ſtepping to the Pulpit where the word of the Lord onely ought to bee preached: will excite the commonalty to diſcontentation, inveying againſt their ſoveraigne with ſuch bitterneſſe of ſpeech, unreverend tearmes, and inſolent controlements, as is not to bee ſpoken; Now imagine what her Majeſty and her grave councell would doe in *England*, if ſuch proceedings ſhould bee uſed, by the Cleargy againſt them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that ſuch unquiet Spirits ſhould bee puniſhed in our Realme. And ſo I ſaid of late to their moſt reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate the Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in *London*, whither hee was come by his Kings appointment (as hee ſaid) to treate certaine affaires with our Queene and Councell. And talking with him of this diſorder of his miniſtery, hee confeſſed the ſame with much griefe of mind, and told mee, that hee had preached thereof before the King himſelfe, deteſting

Scholler.

Sir *Patrick Adamſon* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes.*

and accusing divers heads thereof, for which cause, hee was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But hee said, that as hee had given the reasons of his doings unto our Queene: so meaneth hee shortly to doe the same unto Monsieur *Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneva*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings, Protesting unto mee that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men, was most scandalous, seditious and perilous, both to the Kings person, and to the Realme: being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when hee shall see the chiefe Professours thereof, to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentleman.

That is the thing which these men, his competitours, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby, to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practized so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him: hoping by that meanes, to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the King in danger of destruction by his owne. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so dexterously, so covertly used the mannage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seeme apparent unto the yong King, that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme and Person, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and our state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Treasons plotted against the King of *Scots*.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Leycester*, to draw men for his owne gaine, into danger and hatred with the state, under other pretences.

For

For I could tell you divers ſtories and ſtratagemes of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of *Arundell*, in good credit, and by that meanes had occaſion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolke* in his chiefeſt affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report ſtrange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my Lord of *Leyceſters* moſt treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his bloud, as after appeared: albeit the Duke when hee reported the ſame, miſtruſted not ſo much my Lords malice therein. But the ſumme of all, is this in effect: that *Leyceſter* having a ſecret deſire, to pull downe the ſaid Duke, to the end that hee might have no man above himſelfe, to hinder him in that which hee moſt deſireth: by a thouſand cunning deviſes drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queene of *Scotland*, which afterward was the cauſe or occaſion of his ruine. And hee behaved himſelfe ſo dexterouſly in this drift, by ſetting on the Duke on the one ſide, and intrapping him on the other: as *Iudas* himſelfe never played his part more cunningly, when hee ſupped with his Maſter, and ſet himſelfe ſo neere, as hee dipped his ſpoone in the ſame diſh, and durſt before others aske, who ſhould betray him? meaning that night, to doe it himſelfe, as hee ſhewed ſoone after ſupper, when hee came as a Captaine with a band of conſpiratours, and with a courteous kiſſe delivered his perſon, into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirſt after his bloud.

Leyceſters cunning device for overthrowing the Duke of *Norfolke*.

The impudency of *Iudas*.

The very like did the Earle of *Leyceſter* with the Duke of *Norfolke* for the act of treaſon, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majeſty was

at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe, to follow or leave off his sute for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, Her Maiesty liked not greatly thereof:) my Lord of *Leicester* came to him, and counselled him in any case to persevere and not to relent, assuring him with many oaths and protestations, that Her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that Her Maiesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose: which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome, and saying; I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leicester*; meaning not only the foresaid speechs, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter comming afterward to light, he cousened most notably her Majesty, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letter, for the letter it selfe.

The speeches of *Leicester* to the Duke of *Norfolke*.

Leicest. cousenage of the Queene.

But now how well hee performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke, or against the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and the event it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soone after to Her Majesties speech, at an other place, and receiving a far other answer then hee had in hope conceived upon *Leicesters* promises: retyred himselfe to *London*, where the same night following hee received letters both from *Leycester*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leicesters* instigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he should presently flee into *Norfolke* as hee did, which

The Duke of *Norfolkes* flying into *Norfolke*.

was

was the laſt and finall complement of all *Leiceſters* former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in ſuſpition and diſgrace, in ſuch ſort, as he ſhould never be able to draw himſelfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but died in the ſame.

And herein you ſee alſo the ſame ſubtile and Machivilian ſleight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt ſomewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall ſuſpition or diſgrace. And this practice hee hath long uſed, and doth daily, againſt ſuch as he hath will to deſtroy. As for example: What ſay you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deſerving friend, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Prieſt, whom hee would have had Sir *Chriſtopher* to ſend away and hide, being touched and detected in the caſe of *Arden*, thereby to have drawne in Sir *Chriſtopher* himſelfe, as Sir *Charles Candiſh* can well declare, if it pleaſe him, being acceſſary to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Chriſtopher*. To which intent and moſt deviliſh driſt pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Aldred* of *Lyons* then in *Rome*, to *Henry Compton*, ſervant to Sir *Chriſtopher*, in which letters, Sir *Chriſtopher* is reported to be of ſuch credit and ſpeciall favour in *Rome*, as if hee were the greateſt Papiſt in *England*.

Machivilian Sleights.

Leiceſters devices for the overthrow of Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*.

What meaneth alſo theſe pernitious late dealings againſt the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, a man of the moſt ancient and worthieſt Nobility of our Realme? what meane the practiſes with his neareſt both in bed and blood againſt him? what meane theſe moſt falſe and ſlanderous rumours caſt abroad of late of his diſloyall demeanures towards her Majeſty and his countrey, with the great priſoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to ſome

Leiceſters devices againſt the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

impatience, and thereby to commit or say something which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I recite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realm, who live abroad in their countries much iniured and malcontented by his insolencie: albeit in respect of his present power they dare not complaine. And surely it is strange to see, how little account hee maketh of all the ancient Nobility of our Realme: how he contemneth, derideth and debaseth them: which is the fashion of all such as mean to usurpe, to the end they may have none who shal not acknowledge their first beginning and advancement from themselves.

Leicesters contempt of the ancient Nobility of England.

Lawyer.

Not only Vsurpers (quoth the Lawyer) but all others who rise and mount aloft from base lynage, bee ordinarily most contemptuous, contumultuous, & insolent against others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Bucke of the first head (as you know) was intolerable in contempt of others: as appeareth, by those whom hee trode downe of the Nobility in his time: as also by his ordinary jests against the Duke of Somerset and others. But among other times, sitting one day at his owne table (as a Counsellor told me that was present) hee tooke occasion to taxe of the Earle of *Arundel* whom he then had not only removed from the Counsell, but also put into the Tower of *London*, being (as is well knowne) the first and chiefest Earle of the Realme. And for that the said Earle, shewed himselfe somewhat sad and afflicted with his present state (as I marvel not, seeing himselfe in prison, and within the compasse of so fierce a Bears pawes) it pleased this goodly Duke, to vaunt upon this Earles misery, at his owne table (as I have said) and asked the noble men and Gentlemen there present, what Crest or Cognizance my Lord of

New men most contemptuous.

Duke *Dudlies* jest at the Earle of *Arundel.*

Arundel

Arundel did give? and when every one answered, that he gave the white Horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause: for as the white Paulfrey when hee standeth in the stable, and is well provendred, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape upon every other horses back, still neying and prauncing, and troubling all that stand about him: but when hee is once out of his hoat stable, and deprived a little of his ease and fat feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so is it (quoth he) with my Lord of *Arundel*: Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peere of the Realme, cast into calamity.

Gentleman.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seene that, which I did afterward, which was the most base and abject behaviour of the same Duke, to the same Earle of *Arundel* at *Cambridge*, and upon the way towards *London*: when this Earle was sent to apprehend and bring him up, as prisoner. If I should tell you how hee fell downe on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good Lord vnto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached: you would have said, that himselfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey as the other. Albeit in this, I will excuse neither of them both, neither almost any other of these great men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne any man, albeit themselves be most contemptible of all others, whensoever their fortune beginneth to change: and so will my Lord of *Leicester* be also, no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and careth not whom, or how many hee offend and injure.

The most abject behaviour of duke *Dudley* in adverse fortunes.

Sir

Scholler. Sir therein I beleeve you (quoth I) for wee have had sufficient tryall already of my Lords fortitude in adversity. His base and abiect behaviour in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what he would doe, in a matter of more importance. His fawning and flattering of them, whom he hated most: his servile speeches, his feigned and dissembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir *Christopher Hatton*, must needs be inforced, to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainship of *Chester*, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared. For that the present pange being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints: *Scampato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Leicesters base behaviour in adversity.

Leicesters deceiving of Sir *Christopher Hatton.*

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realme were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, hee wrote a letter, in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to bee delivered with great cunning in the sight of Her Maiesty; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen: to the end, her Highnesse might the rather take occasion to call for the same and reade it, as she did. For Mistris *Frances Howard* (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neere the doore of the with-drawing Chamber, hee then comming from Her Majesty. And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the Treasurers hand,

A pretty shift of my Lord of *Leicester.*

and

and by that occaſion brought her Majeſty to call for the ſame: Which after ſhe had read and conſidered the ſtile, together with the metall and conſtitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was ſent: Her Highneſſe could not but breake forth in laughter, with deteſtation of ſuch abſurd and abiect diſsimulation: ſaying unto my Lord Treaſurer there preſent: my Lord beleeve him not, for if hee had you in like caſe hee would play the Beare with you, though at this preſent hee fawne upon you never ſo faſt.

Her Majeſties ſpeech of *Leiceſter* to the Treaſurer.

But now, Sir, I pray you goe forward in your ſpeech of *Scotland*, for there, I remember you left off, when by occaſion wee fell into theſe digreſſions.

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to *Scotland* (as you move) from whence wee have digreſſed: moſt certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as alſo the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of theſe conſpirators. Which beſides the great dangers mentioned before, both domeſticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, muſt needs inferre great jeopardy alſo to Her Maieſties perſon and preſent reigne, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aſpirors ambition, inflamed and increaſed ſo much the more, by the nearneſſe of their deſired pray.

Gentleman.

The danger of her Majeſtie by oppreſſion of the favourers of the *Scottiſh* title.

For as ſouldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furniſhed Citie, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bul-workes round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pearſed and broken downe many wals to come to a treaſure, is leſſe patient of ſtay, ſtop and delay, when hee commeth in ſight of that which he deſireth, or

A Similie true.

perceiveth only some partition of wane-skot or the like, betwixt his fingers and the cofers or money bags: so these men, when they shall see the succession of *Scotland* extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to Her Majesty as Bulwarkes and Walles, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see only Her Majesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitours by King *Henries* line:) no doubt, but it will be to them a great pricke and spurre, to dispatch Her Maiesty also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife (as hath beene shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away, with the same furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of ambition: as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neere, as her life had only stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse, was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might die before Her Majesty, (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who shee saw to her griefe, furiously bent to weare a Crowne:) their might not some dangerous extremity grow to her, by that nearnesse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty doubt, at his, and his companions hands, when she only shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires?

Earle of *Leicester.*

Earle of *Huntington.*

The old Countesse of *Huntingtons* speech of her sonne.

Lawyer. Nearnesse in competitors doth incite them to adventure.

Cleare it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearnesse of aspirours to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For

when

when *Henry Bullingbrooke*, Duke of *Lancaſter* ſaw, not only *Richard* the ſecond to be without iſſue, but alſo *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that ſhould have ſucceeded in the Crowne, to bee ſlaine in *Ireland*: though before (as is thought) hee meant not to uſurpe, yet ſeeing the poſſibility and neere cut that he had: was invited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blood and dignity, as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Gloceſter* that he never meant the murder of his nephewes, untill he ſaw their father dead, and themſelves in his owne hands: his brother alſo Duke of *Clarence* diſpatched, and his only ſonne and heire Earle of *Warwicke*, within his owne power.

Henry Bullingbrooke after King *Henry* the fourth.

Richard duke of *Gloceſter* after King *Richard* the third.

Wherefore, ſeeing it hath not pleaſed Almighty God, for cauſes to himſelfe beſt knowne, to leave unto this noble Realme, any iſſue by her moſt excellent Majeſty, it hath beene a point of great wiſdome in mine opinion, and of great ſafety to Her Highneſſe perſon, ſtate, and dignity; to preſerve hitherto, the line of the next Inheritors by the houſe of *Scotland*, (I meane both the mother and the ſon) whoſe deaths hath beene ſo diligently ſought, by the other competitours, and had beene long ere this atchieved, if her Majeſties owne wiſdome and Royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed ſpeciall eye upon the conſervation thereof, from time to time. Which princely providence, ſo long as it ſhall endure, muſt needs be a great ſafety and fortreſſe to Her Majeſty, not onely againſt the claimes, ayds, or annoyance of forraine Princes, who will not be ſo forward to advance ſtrange titles, while ſo manifeſt heires remaine at home, nor yet ſo willing (in reſpect of policy) to helpe that line to poſſeſſion of the whole Iland: but alſo againſt practices of domeſticall aſpirours (as you have ſhewed) in whoſe affaires no doubt but theſe two branches of

The great wiſdome of her Majeſty in conſerving the next heires of *Scotland*.

Scotland are great blocks, as alſo ſpeciall Bulwarkes to her Majeſties life and perſon: ſeeing (as you ſay) theſe copartners make ſo little account of all the other of that line, who ſhould enſue by order of ſucceſſion.

The King of *Scotlands* deſtruction of more importance to the conſpirators, then his mothers.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpoſe, to be made away, both for that he may have iſſue, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance: as alſo for that hee being once diſpatched, his mother ſhould ſoone enſue, by one ſleight or other, which they would deviſe unwitting to Her Majeſty: albeit, I muſt needs confeſſe, that her Highneſſe hath uſed moſt ſingular prudence for prevention thereof: in placing her reſtraint with ſo noble, ſtrong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsbury* is: whoſe fidelity and conſtancy being nothing pliable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cauſe, the world ſeeth, how many ſundry and divers devices they have uſed, and doe uſe daily to ſlaunder and diſgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

The Earle of *Salisbury* diſgraced by the competitors.

Gentleman. To this the Gentleman anſwered nothing at all, but ſtood ſtill muſing with himſelfe, as though he had conceived ſome deepe matter in his head: and after a little pauſe he began to ſay as followeth.

I cannot truly but much marvaile, when I doe compare ſome things of this time and government, with the doings of former Princes, progenitors to Her Majeſty. Namely of *Henry* the ſeventh, and *Henry* the eight: who had ſo vigilant an eye to the laterall line of King *Edward* the fourth by his brother of *Clarence*, as they thought it neceſſary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might enſue that way, but even the poſſibilities of all perill: as may well appeare by the execution of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* before named,

The vigilant eye that her Majeſties anceſtors had to the colaterall line.

Sonne

Sonne and heire to the ſaid Duke of *Clarence*, and of *Margaret* his Siſter Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her Sonne, by whoſe Daughter the Earle of *Huntingtop* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoiding of inconveniences, and that at ſuch times, when no imminent danger could bee much doubted, by that Line, eſpecially by the latter. And yet now when one of the ſame Houſe and Line, of more ability and ambition, then ever any of his Anceſtours were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to moſt manifeſt uſurpation, againſt all order, all law, and all rightfull ſucceſſion: and againſt a ſpeciall ſtatute provided in that behalfe: yet is hee permitted, borne out, favored, and friended therein: and no man ſo hardy, as in defence of her Majeſtie and Realme, to controle him for the ſame.

Perſons executed of the Houſe of *Clarence*.

It may be, that her Majeſty is brought into the ſame opinion of my Lord of *Huntingtons* fidelity, as *Iulius Cæſar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his deareſt obliged friend: of whoſe ambitious practiſes, and aſpiring, when *Cæſar* was advertiſed by his carefull friends: hee anſwered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to bee ambitious, but I am ſure (quoth hee) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while *Cæſar* liveth: and after my death, let him ſhift for the ſame among others, as hee can. But what enſued? Surely I am loth to tell the event, for ominations ſake, but yet all the World knoweth, that ere many moneths paſſed, this moſt Noble and Clement Emperour, was pittifully murdered by the ſame *Brutus* and his Partners, in the publique Senate, when leaſt of all hee expected ſuch treaſon. So dangerous a thing it is, to bee ſecure in a matter of ſo great ſequell, or to truſt them with a mans life, who may pretend

The example of *Iulius Cæſars* deſtruction.

preferment or interest, by his death.

Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case, might bee induced, to have such due care and regard of her owne estate and Royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so Noble and worthy a Kingdome, as this is.

Too much confidence very perilous in a Prince.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people, as proves love, and are most bounden by duty: and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarse allowable often times in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the speciall hand hee holdeth over Princes affaires,) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

Wee know that the forenamed Emperour *Cæsar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which hee upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee was not onely forbidden by a learned man, to enter into *Babylon* (whether hee was then going) for that there was treason meant against him, in the place, but also that hee was foretold of *Antipaters* mischievous meaning against him, in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater* could not bee brought to mistrust the

The example of *Alexander* the great, how he was foretold his danger.

the man that was so deare unto him: and by that meanes was poisoned in a banquet, by three Sonnes of *Antipater*, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

Here, truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with feare, horrour, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman. I beseech you, Sir, to talke no more of these matters, for I cannot well abide to heare them named: hoping in the Lord, that there is no cause, nor ever shall bee, to doubt the like in *England*: specially from these men who are so much bounden to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out and pursuing all such, as may bee thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have seene, and by the punishments every way of Papists, wee may perceive.

Scholler.

Late executions.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman) that justice hath beene done upon divers of late, which contenteth mee greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they bee: And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance bee used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that onely one kind of men are touched herein: and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch, is of them alone; without reflexion of eye upon any other mens doings or designements: when I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to rayse wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terrour, and attention, to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that namely and onely, which these conspiratours esteeme for most dangerous and opposite to themselves: I am (believe mee) often tempted to suspect fraud and false

Gentleman.

Fraud to bee feared in pursuing one part or faction onely.

falſe meaſure: and that theſe men deale, as Wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to doe: Which going together in great numbers to aſſaile a flock of ſheepe by night, doe ſet ſome one or two of their company upon the wind ſide of the fold a farre off, who partly by their ſent and other bruteling which of purpoſe they make, may draw the dogges and ſhepheards to purſue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and ſlay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to ſurpriſe a Towne, to turne away the Inhabitants from conſideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter: doe ſet on fire ſome other parts of the Towne further off, and doe ſound a falſe alarme at ſome gate, where is meant leaſt danger.

The compariſon of Wolves and Rebels.

Which art, was uſed cunningly by *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* in the time of King *Henry* the ſixt, when hee to cover his owne intent: brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet*, his enemy. But *Iohn* of *Northumberland*, Father to my Lord of *Leyceſter*, uſed the ſame art much more skilfully, when hee put all *England* in a maze and muſing of the Protectour and of his friends: as though nothing could bee ſafe about the yong King, untill they were ſuppreſſed: and conſequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obſtacle. I ſpeake not this, to excuſe Papiſts, or to wiſh them any way ſpared wherein they offend: but onely to ſignifie that in a Countrey, where ſo potent factions bee, it is not ſafe, to ſuffer the one to make it ſelfe ſo puiſſant by purſuite of the other: as after wards the Prince muſt remaine at the devotion of the ſtronger: but rather as in a body moleſted and troubled with contrary humours, if all cannot bee purged, the beſt Phyſick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at ſuch an equality:

Richard Duke of *Yorke*.

Duke *Dudley*.

A good rule of policy.

as

as destruction may not bee feared of the predominant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir: I would to God, your opinion might prevaile in this matter: for then should wee bee in other tearmes, then now wee are. I was not long since, in company of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court, who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that were present, of some apprehended, and some executed, and such like affaires: brake into a great complaint of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) moved all the hearers to griefe (as women you know are potent in stirring of affections,) and caused them all to wish that her Majesty, had beene nigh to have heard her words.

The speech of a certaine Lady of the Court.

I doe well remember (quoth shee) the first dozen yeares of her highnesse raigne, how happy, pleasant, and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of factions in religion, neither was any man much noted or rejected for that cause: so otherwise his conversation were civill and courteous. No suspition of treason, no talke of bloud-shed, no complaint of troubles, miseries or vexations. All was peace, all was love, all was joy, all was delight. Her Majesty (I am sure) tooke more recreation at that time, in one day, then she doth now in a whole weeke: and wee that served her highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a weeke, then wee can now in divers yeares. For now, there are so many suspitions, every where, for this thing and for that: as wee cannot tell whom to trust. So many melancholique in the Court, that seeme malecontented: so many complaining or suing for their friends that are in trouble: other slip over the Sea, or retire themselves upon the sudden: so many tales

brought us of this or that danger, of this man ſuſpected, of that man ſent for up, and ſuch like unpleaſant and unſavery ſtuffe: as wee can never almoſt bee merry one whole day togedher.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her Majeſties traine and ſpeciall ſervice, and doe not onely feel theſe things in our ſelves, but much more in the griefe of her moſt excellent Majeſty, whom wee ſee dayly moleſted herewith (being one of the beſt natures, I am ſure, that ever noble Princeſſe was indued with all:) wee cannot but moane, to behold contentions advanced ſo farre foorth as they are: and wee could wiſh moſt hartily that for the time to come, theſe matters might paſſe with ſuch peace, friendſhip and tranquility, as they doe in other Countries: where difference in religion breaketh not the band of good fellowſhip, or fidelity. And with this in a ſmiling manner, ſhee brake off: asking pardon of the company, if ſhee had ſpoken her opinion, over boldly, like a woman.

More moderation wiſhed in matters of faction.

To whom, anſwered a Courtier, that ſat next her: *Madame, your Ladiſhip hath ſaid nothing in this* behalfe, that is not dayly debated among us, in our Common ſpeech in Court, as you know. Your deſire alſo herein is a publique deſire, if it might bee brought to paſſe: for there is no man ſo ſimple, that ſeeth not, how perilous theſe contentions and deviſions among us, may bee in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen, that bee learned, diſcourſe at large upon this argument: alleaging old examples of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*, who receive notable damnages, and deſtruction alſo, in the end, by their diviſions and factions among themſelves: and ſpecially from them of their owne Cities and Countries, who upon factions lived abroad

The ſpeech of a Courtier.

The perill of diviſions and factions in a Commonwealth.

abroad with Forrainers: and thereby were always as fite-brands to carry home the flame of Warre, upon their Countrey.

The like, they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of *Italy*: which by their factious and forn cites, were in continuall garboile, bloudshed and misery. Whereof our owne Countrey hath tasted also her part, by the odious contention betweene the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*: wherein it is marvailous to consider, what trouble a few men oftentimes, departing out of the Realme, were able to worke, by the part of their faction remaining at home (which commonly encreaseth towards them that are absent,) and by the readines of forraine Princes, to receive alwayes, and comfort such, as are discontented in an other states to the end, that by their meanes, they might hold an ore in their neighbours bote: Which, Princes that are nigh borderers, doe alwayes, above all other things, most covet and desire.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, whereby I perceived, that as well among them in Court, as among us in the Realme and Countrey abroad, the present inconvenience and dangerous sequell of this our home dissention, is espied: and consequently most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or prevention thereof, by some reasonable moderation, or re-union among our selves. For that the prosecution of these differences to extremity, cannot but after many wounds and exulcerations bring matters finally to rage, fury and most deadly desperation. The dangerous sequell of dissention in our Realme.

Whereas on the other side, if any sweet qualification, or small tolleration among us, were admitted: there is no doubt, but that affaires would passe in

our Realme, with more quietnes, safety and publique weale of the same, then it is like it will doe long: and men would easily bee brought, that have English bowels, to joyne in the preservation of their Countrey, from ruine, bloudshed and forraine oppression, which desperation of factions is wont to procure.

Gentleman. I am of your opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seene the experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this day, in all the Countries of *Germany*, *Polonia*, *Bauiland*, and *Hungary*: where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace, whereof all *Europe* besides, hath admiration and envy. The first douzen yeares also of her Majesties raigne, whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well bee a witnesse of the same: Wherein the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet diligence for their gaining, by good meanes, was the cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefit to the whole body.

Examples of tolleration in matters of Religion.

Germany.

The breach and reunion againe in France.

Wee see in *France*, that by over much pressing of one part onely, a fire was inkindled not many yeares since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole: had not a necessary mollification beene thought upon, by the wisest of that Kings Councell, full contrary to the will and inclination of some great personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other. And since that time, wee see what peace, wealth and re-union, hath insued in that Countrey, that was so broken, dissevered and wasted before. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but exulcerate rather, and make worse: I meane the conscience and judgement of men in matters of religion.

The

The like alſo I could name you in *Flaunders*, where after all theſe broyles and miſeries, of ſo many yeares warres (cauſed principally by too much ſtreyning in ſuch affaires at the beginning) albeit, the King be never ſo ſtrict-laced, in yeelding to publike liberty, and free exerciſe on both parts: yet is he deſcended to this at length (and that upon force of reaſon) to abſtain from the purſuite and ſearch of mens conſciences, not onely in the townes, which upon compoſition hee receiveth, but alſo where hee hath recovered by force, as in *Tornay* and other places: where I am informed that no man is ſearched, demanded, or moleſted for his opinion or conſcience, nor any act of Papiſtry or contrary religion required at their hands: but are permitted to live quietly to God and themſelves, at home in their owne houſes: ſo they performe otherwiſe, their outward obedience and duties to their Prince and countrey. Which only qualification, tollerance, and moderation in our Realme (if I be not deceived, with many more that be of my opinion) would content all diviſions, factions, and parties amongſt us, for their continuance in peace: be they Papiſts, Puritanes, Familians, or of whatſoever nice difference or ſection beſides, and would be ſufficient to retaine all parties, within a temperate obedience to the Magiſtrate and gouvernement, for conſervation of their countrey: which were of no ſmall importance to the contentation of Her Majeſty, and weale publike of the whole kingdome. *Flaunders.*

But what ſhould I talke of this thing, which is ſo contrary to the deſires and deſignments of our puiſſant Conſpirators? What ſhould *Cicero* the Senator uſe perſwaſions to Captaine *Cateline*, and his crew, that quietneſſe and order were better then hurleburlies? Is it poſſible that our Aſpirours will ever permit any ſuch thing, cauſe, or matter, to be treated in our ſtate, as

Moderation impugned by the conſpirators. *Cicero.* *Catiline.*

as may tend to the ſtability of Her Majeſties preſent government. No ſurely, it ſtandeth nothing with their wiſedome or policie: eſpecially at this inſtant, when they have ſuch opportunity of following their owne actions in Her Majeſties name, under the vizard and protext, of her defence and ſafety: having ſowed in every mans head, ſo many imaginations of the dangers preſent both abroad and at home: from *Scotland*, *Flaundrs*, *Spaine*, and *Ireland*: ſo many conſpiracies, ſo many intended murders, and others ſo many contrived or conceived miſchieves: as my Lord of *Leiceſter* aſſureth himſelfe, that the troubled water cannot bee cleared againe, in ſhort ſpace, nor his baits and lines laid therein, eaſily eſpied: but rather, that hereby ere long, hee will catch the fiſh he gapeth ſo greedily after: and in the meane time, for the purſute of theſe crimes, and other that daily he will find out, himſelfe muſt remaine perpetuall Dictator.

The Conſpirators opportunity.

But what meaneth this ſo much inculcating of troubles, treaſons, murders and invaſions? I like not ſurely theſe ominous ſpeaches. And as I am out of doubt, that *Leiceſter* the caſter of theſe ſhadowes, doth looke to play his part, firſt in theſe troubleſome affaires: ſo doe I heartily feare, that unleſſe the tyrannie of this *Leiceſtrian* furie be ſpeedily ſtopped, that ſuch miſery to Prince, and people (which the Lord for his mercies ſake turne from us) as never greater fell before to our miſerable countrey: is farre nearer hand then is expected or ſuſpected.

And therefore, for prevention of theſe calamities, to tell you plainely mine opinion (good Sirs) and therwith to draw to an end of this our conference (for it waxeth late:) I would thinke it the moſt neceſſary point of all for Her Majeſty to call his Lordſhip to account among other, and to ſee what other men could

Leiceſter to be called to account.

ſay

say against him, at length, after so many yeares of his sole accusing and pursuing of others. I know and am very well assured, that no one act which Her Majesty hath done since her comming to the Crowne (as shee hath done right many most highly to be commended) nor any that lightly Her Maiesty may doe hereafter, can be of more vtilitie to Her selfe, and to the Realme, or, more gratefull unto her faithfull and zealous subiects then this noble act of Iustice would bee, for tryall of this mans deserts towards his countrey.

I say it would be profitable to Her Maiestie, and to the Realme, not only in respect of the many dangers before mentioned, hereby to bee avoyded, which are like to ensue most certainely, if his courses be still permitted; but also, for that Her Maiesty shall by this deliver Her selfe from that generall grudge and grieefe of mind, with great dislike, which many subiects, otherwise most faithfull, have conceived against the excessive favour shewed to this man so many yeares, without desert or reason. Which favour, he having used to the hurt, annoyance and oppression both of infinit severall persons, and the whole Common-wealth (as hath been told) the griefe and resentment thereof, doth redound commonly in such cases, not only upon the person delinquent alone, but also upon the Soveraigne, by whose favour and authority hee offereth such injuries, though never so much against the others intent, will, desire, or meaning.

And hereof we have examples of sundry Princes, in all ages and countries; whose exorbitant favour to some wicked subiect that abused the same, hath beene the cause of great danger and ruine to the Lyues of the Favourite, being revenged upon the Favourer. As in the Historie of the *Gothes* is declared, by occasion of the pittifull murder of that wise and victorious

The death of King *Philip* of *Macedonie*, and cause thereof.

glorious Prince *Philip* of *Macedonie*, who albeit, that he were well assured to have given no offence of himselfe to any of his subiects, and consequently feared nothing, but conuerted openly and confidently among them: yet, for that hee had fauoured too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had borne him out in certaine of his wickednesse, or at least, not punished the same after it was detected and complayned vpon: the parties grieued, accounting the crime more proper and hainous on the part of him, who by office should doe iustice, and protect other, then of the Perpetrator, who followeth but his owne passion and sensuality: let passe *Attalus*, and made their reuenge vpon the blood and life of the King himselfe, by one *Pausanias*, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

Pausanias.

Great store of like examples might be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more vsuall or frequent amongall nations, then the afflictions of Realmes and kingdomes, and the ouerthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselues, by their too much affection towards some vnworthy particular persons: a thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seeme to be the speciall Rock of all other, whereat Kings and Princes do make their ship wracks.

For if wee looke into the states and Monarchies of all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: wee shall find this point to have beene a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and countrey, the matter is too too euident. For whereas, since the conquest wee number principally, three iust and lawfull Kings: to have come to confusion by alienation of their subiectes: that is, *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the first, this only point of too

Kings of *England* ouerthrowne by too much fauouring of some particular men.

much

much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston* and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinary, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and Marquesse of *Dublin*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the King against his owne Vncles and the Nobility. K. *Edward* 2. K. *Richard* 2.

In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit, no great exorbitant affection was seene towards any, yet his wife, Queene *Margaret* too much favour and credit (by him not controled) towards the Marques of *Suffolke*, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Gloucester*, and afterward committed other things in great preiudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious & sinfull Duke, to range & make havocke of all sort of subiects at his pleasure (much after the fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though yet not in so high and extreme a degree: (this I say was the principall and originall cause, both before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme desolation, which after ensued both to the King, Queene, and their only child, with the utter extirpation of their family. K. *Henry* 6. *Pol. lib.* 23. *hist. Ang.*

And so likewise now to speeak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or griefe at this day, any mislike, repining, complaint or murmure against Her Maiesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subiects, who wish amendment of that which is amisse, and not the overthrow of that which is well, (as I trow it were no wisdome to imagine there were none at all:) I dare avouch upon conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man: who by the favour of her Maiesty so afflicteth

toth her people, as never did before him, either *Glocester*, or *Spencer*, or *Vere*, or *Mowbray*, or any other mischievous Tyrant, that abused most his Princes favour within our Realme of *England*. Whereby it is evident, how profitable a thing it should bee to the whole Realme, how honourable to Her Majestie, and how gratefull to all her subiects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

Lawyer. Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you alleage great reason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty knew but the tenth part of this, which you have here spoken, as also her good subiects desires and complaint in this behalfe: shee would well shew, that Her Highnesse feareth not to permit iustice to passe upon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may thinke and report to the contrary, or howsoever otherwise of her owne mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, shee have borne with him hitherto. For so wee see, that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale, though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

As to goe no further, then to the last example named and alleaged by your selfe before: though Queene *Margaret* the wife of King *Henry* the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William* Duke of *Suffolke* (as hath beene said) whereby he committed manifold out-rages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet shee being a woman of great prudence, when shee saw the whole Communalty demand iustice upon him for his demerites, albeit shee lifted and loved the man still, yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint: shee was content, first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence of God

The punishment of *William* Duke of *Suffolke*.

would

would not permit him so to escape: for that hee being incountred, and taken upon the sea in his passage, hee was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose, and licentious life.

And to seeke no more examples in this case, and wee know into what favour and speciall grace Sir *Edmond Dudley* my Lord of *Leycesters* good Grandfather was crept, with King *Henry* the seventh, in the latter end of his raigne: and what intollerable wickednesse and mischiefe hee wrought against the whole Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the same, by the polings and oppressions which hee practised: whereby though the King received great temporall commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all, by the present extortions of his Nephew:) yet for justice sake, and for meere compassion towards his afflicted subjects, that complained grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise Prince King *Henry*, was content to put from him, this lewd instrument, and devilish suggestour of new exactions: whom his Sonne *Henry*, that inherited the Crowne, caused presently before all other businesse, to bee called publiquely to accompt, and for his deserts to leese his head: So as where the interest of a whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh place; the private favour of any one, cannot stay a wise and godly Prince, (such as all the World knoweth her Majesty to bee) from permitting justice to have her free passage.

The punishment of *Edmond Dudley*.

Truly it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration doe subjects pay them both tribute and obedience: to bee defended by them from injuries and oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and justice exer-

Gentleman.

The causes why Princes were chosen, and doe receive obedience.

exercised, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leycester*, I doe not see in right and equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers, without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience wee see: how then can it bee denied in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may bee well recounted.

Leycesters Thefts.

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite private men: but also whole Townes, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licences, by deceiving the Crowne, with racking, changing and imbezeling the lands, by abusing his Prince and soveraign in selling his favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever suite els may depend upon the Court, or of the Princes authority: with setting at sale and making open market, of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, bee it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffique, hee committeth more theft, often times in one day: then all the way-keepers, cut-purses, cosiners, pirats, burglares, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme.

Leycesters murders.

And as for the second, which is murder, you have heard before somewhat said and prooved: but yet nothing, to that which is thought to have beene in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable meanes of killing, poisoning, charming, inchanting, conjuring and the like: according

to

to the diverſity of men, places, oportunities and inſtruments for the ſame. By all which meanes, I thinke, hee hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance againſt him at Gods hands and her Majeſty, then ever had private man in our Countrey before, were hee never ſo wicked.

Whereto now, if wee add his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiouſneſſe in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all ſort of Wives, Friends and Kinſwomen: if wee add his injuries and diſhonours, done hereby to infinite: if we add his treaſons, treacheries and conſpiracies about the Crowne; his diſloyall behaviour and hatred againſt her Majeſty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring himſelfe, in all matters for his gaine, both great and ſmall; his rapes and moſt violent extorſions upon the poore; his abuſing of the Parliament and other places of juſtice, with the Nobility and whole communalty beſides; if we add alſo his open injuries which hee offereth dayly to religion, and the Miniſters thereof, by tithing them, and turning all to his owne gaine: together with his manifeſt and knowne tyranny practized towards all eſtates abroad, throughout all Shires of the Kingdome: his diſpoyling of both the Vniverſities, and diſcouraging of infinite notable wits there, from ſeeking perfection of knowledge and learning, (which otherwiſe were like to become notable) eſpecially in Gods word (which giveth life unto the ſoule,) by defrauding them of the price and reward propoſed for their travaile in that kind, through his inſatiable Simoniacall contracte: if I ſay, wee ſhould lay together all theſe enormities before her Majeſty, and thouſands more in particular, which might and would bee gathered, if his day of

A heape of *Leyceſters* enormities that would bee ready at the day of his triall.

of triall were but in hope to bee granted. I doe not see in equity and reason, how her highnesse sitting in throne, and at the Royall Sterne, as shee doth, could deny her subjects this most lawfull request: considering, that every one of these crimes apart, requireth justice of his owne nature: and much more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World.

Scholler. Her Majesties tender heart towards the Realme.

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and much more with her most excellent Majesty, whose tender heart towards her Realme and Subjects, is very well knowne of all men. It is not to bee thought also, but that her highnesse hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleaged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient: not, what ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee done in safety. You have described my Lord before to bee a great man, mightily furnished and fortified for all events. What if it bee not secure to bark at the Beare that is so well britched? I speake unto you but that which I heare in *Cambridge* and other places, where I have passed: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choise to doe what herselfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

Gentleman. *Leycesters* desire, that men should think her Majesty to stand in feare of him.

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Leycesters* friends give it out every where, that her Majesty now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee either will or must bee directed by him for the time to come, except shee will doe worse: Which thing his Lordship is well contented should bee spred abroad, and believed, for two causes: the one to hold the people

thereby more in awe of himselfe, then of their Soveraigne: and secondly to draw Her Majestie indeed by degrees to feare him. For considering with himselfe what he hath done: and that it is impossible in such that ever Her Majesty should love him againe, or trust him after so many treacheries, as be well knoweth are come to Her Highnesse understanding: hee thinketh that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terrour, and opinion of his puissant greatnesse; whereby hee would hold Her Majesty, and the Realme in thraldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then for that he well remembreth the true saying, *Malus custos dum timetur, metuit*: he must provide shortly that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King *Edward*, who feared Duke *Dudley* extremely, for that hee had cut off his two Vncles heads, and the Duke tooke order that hee should never live to revenge the same. For it is a setled rule of Machivel, which the *Dudlies* doe observe: *That, where you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.*

Cicero in Officio.

A rule of Machivell observed by the Dudlies.

But I will tell you (my friends) and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speake herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath been shewed before) in respect whereof, hee is admitted also as chiefe patron of the *Huntingdon* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majesty once turne her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speake but the word only, that justice shall take place against him: and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without sturre or trouble, or any danger

Leicest. strong only by Her Majesties favour.

An offer made for taking and tying the Bear.

danger in the world, the Beare ſhall be taken to Her Majeſties hand, and faſt chained to a ſtake, with mouzel cord, collar and ring, and all other things neceſſary: ſo that Her Majeſty ſhall baite him at her pleaſure, without all danger of byting, breaking looſe, or any other inconvenience whatſoever.

For (Sirs) you muſt not thinke, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that only upon her Majeſties favour and countenance towards him. Hee hath not any thing of his owne, either from his anceſtors, or of himſelfe, to ſtay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient nobility, as other of our Realme have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *John Dudley* was the firſt noble of his line: who rayſed and made himſelfe bigge by ſupplanting of other, and by ſetting debate among the Nobility: as alſo his Grandfather *Edmond*, a moſt wicked Promoter, and wretched Petifoger, enriched himſelf by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traytors, though different in quality, the one being a Cenſener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conioyned, collected, and compriſed (with many more additions) in this man (or beaſt rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kinne and kind. So that, from his anceſtors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honeſty, but only ſucceſſion of treaſon and infamy.

Leiceſter what he receiveth from his anceſtors.

And yet in himſelfe hath hee much leſſe of good, wherewith to procure himſelfe love or credit among men, then theſe anceſtors of his had; he being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickedneſſe, which maketh men odible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to bee ſeene many excellent good parts, if they had beene ioyned with faith, honeſty, moderation, and loyaltie.

For

For all the world knoweth, that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberall, and assured friendly where hee once promised: of all which vertues, my Lord his sonne, hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certaine false representation of the first, being crafty and subtile to deceive, and ingenious to wickednesse. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity, is base sordidity: his liberality, rapine: his friendship, plaine fraud, holding only for his gaine, and no otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand oathes; of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but only for his commodity; using them specially, and in greatest number, when most hee meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnely by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye: for these are observations in the Court; and sometimes in his owne lodging; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him (as many doe that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, he observed him, wittingly and willingly, to be forsworne sixteene times.

The Comparison of *Leicester* with his father.

This man therefore, so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the countrey, and not trusted of his own and dearest friends; nay (which I am privie to) so misliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet, to say one private prayer within his Chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within and without, is it possible that Her

The weakenesse of *Leiset*, if her Majesty turne but her countenance from him.

Majeſty, and her wiſe Councell ſhould feare? I can never beleeve it; or if it be ſo, it is Gods permiſſion without all cauſe, for puniſhment of our ſinnes: for that this man, if hee once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare indeed: Which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and ſo I leave it to God, and them; craving pardon of my Lord of *Leiceſter* for my boldneſſe, if I have beene too plaine with him. And ſo I pray you let us goe to ſupper, for I ſee my ſervant expecting yonder at the gallerie doore, to call us downe.

Lawyer. The end and departure from the Gallerie.

To that, ſaid the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene ſooner, for that I am afraid, leſt any by chance have over-heard us here ſince night. For my owne part, I muſt ſay, that I have not beene at ſuch a conference this ſeven yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may eſcape well with this; wherof I am ſure I ſhall dreame this fort-night, and think oftner of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, then ever I had entended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of theſe matters hereafter, I ſhall ſurely be quak-britch, and thinke every buſh a theefe. And with that, came up the Miſtris of the houſe, to fetch us downe to ſupper, and ſo all was huſht, ſaving that at ſupper a Gentleman or two began againe to ſpeake of my Lord, and that ſo conformable to ſome of our former ſpeech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to ſhrink and be appaled and to caſt dry lookes upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting leaſt ſomething had beene diſcovered of our conference. But indeed it was not ſo.

FINIS.

PIA ET VTILIS MEDITATIO; desumpta ex libro Iobi. Cap. 20.

Hoc scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super terram, quod laus impiorum, brevis sit, ex gaudium hipocritæ ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usq; ad cœlum superbia eius, et caput eius nubes tetigerit: quasi sterquilinium in fine perdetur, et qui eum viderant, dicent, ubi est? velut somnium avolans non invenietur, evanescet sicut visio nocturna. Oculus qui eum viderat, non videbit, neq; ultra intuebitur eum locus suus. Filii ejus atterentur egestate, & manus illius reddent ei laborem suum. Ossa ejus implebuntur vitiis adolescentiæ eius, & cum ea in pulvere dormient. Panis eius in utero illius; vertetur in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, evomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum surget, & occidet eum linguam viperæ. Luet quæ fecit omnia, nec tamen consumetur. Iuxta multitudinem adinventionum suarum, sic & sustinebit. Quoniam confringens nudabit pauperes: domum rapuit, & non ædificavit eam: nec est satiatus venter eius, & cum habuerit quæ concupierit, possidere non poterit. Non remansit de cibo eius, & propterea non permanebit de bonis eius. Cum satiatus fuerit, arctabitur, æstuabit, & omnis dolor irruet super eum. Vinam impleatur venter eius, ut imitat in eum (Deus) iram furoris sui, & pluat super illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, & irruet in arcum æreum. Gladius eductus & egrediens de vagina sua,

& fulgurans in amaritudine ſua: Omnes tenebræ abſcondita ſunt in occultis eius Devorabit eum ignis qui non ſuccenditur, affligetur relictus in tabernaculo ſuo. Apertumerit germen domus illius, detrahetur in die furoris dei. Hæc eſt pars hominis impii, à deo, & hæreditas verborum eius à domino.

A GODLY AND PROFITABLE meditation taken out of the 20. Chapter of the Booke of Job.

THis I know from the firſt, that man was placed upon earth, that the praiſe (or applauſe) given to wicked men, endureth but a little, and the joy of an hypocrite, is but for a moment. Though his pride were ſo great as to mount to heaven, and his head ſhould touch the skies: yet in the end ſhall hee come to perdition as a dunghill, and they who beheld him (in glory before) ſhall ſay, where is hee? he ſhall bee found as a flying dreame, and as a phantaſie by night ſhall fade away. The eye that beheld him before, ſhall no more ſee him, not yet ſhall his place (of honour) ever more behold him. His children ſhall bee worne out with beggary, and his owne hands ſhall returne upon him his ſorrow. His (old) bones ſhall bee repleniſhed, with the vices of his youth, and they ſhall ſleepe with him in his grave. His bread in his belly, ſhall be turned inwardly into the gaule of Serpents. The riches which hee hath devoured, hee ſhall vomit foorth againe, and God ſhall pull them foorth of his belly. Hee ſhall ſuck the head of Cocatrices, and the (venemous) tongues of adders ſhall ſlay him. Hee ſhall ſuſtaine due puniſhment for all the wickedneſſe that hee hath committed, nor yet ſhall hee have end or conſumation thereof. Hee ſhall ſuffer according to the multitude of all his wicked inventions. For that by violence hee hath ſpoiled the poore, made havock of his houſe, and not buil-

The wicked mans pompe.

His joy.

His pride.

His fall.

His children.

His old age.

His bread.

His reſtitution.

His puniſhment.

His wickedneſſe.

builded the ſame. His wombe is never ſatisfied, and yet when hee hath that which hee deſired, hee ſhall not bee able to poſſeſſe the ſame. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore:) and therefore there ſhall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full, then ſhall hee begin to bee ſtraitened, then ſhall hee ſweat, and all kind of ſorrow ſhall ruſh upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might ſend foorth upon him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his warre. Hee ſhall flie away from iron weapons, and runne upon a bow of braſſe. A drawne ſword comming out of his skabard ſhall flaſh as lightning in his bitternesſe. All darkneſſe lie hidden for him in ſecret: the fire that needeth no kindling ſhall devoure him, and hee ſhall bee tormented alone in his tabernacle. The off-ſpring of his houſe ſhall bee made open, and pulled downe, in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his ſubſtance from the Lord.

His griefe.

His affliction.

His damnation.

His poſterity.

FINIS.